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Assistance to the Needy in Less-Developed Areas

**A survey of methods of administering assistance
in various countries**

UNITED NATIONS

Department of Economic and Social Affairs

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FOREWORD

Following the publication, in 1952, of the study entitled *Methods of Administering Assistance to the Needy*,¹ the Social Commission of the Economic and Social Council, at its eighth session in May 1952, recommended² the preparation of an additional report on the same general subject, but with particular reference to less-developed areas. The Economic and Social Council, at its fourteenth session, in taking note of the report of the Commission, endorsed³ that recommendation, in pursuance of which the present report was prepared.

The purpose of this report is to provide factual information on existing conditions and on schemes of assistance in operation in a number of countries representing different national structures, diverse cultures and varying degrees of social and economic progress and to review problems of assistance to the needy of particular interest to countries in an early stage of social and economic development.

This report is based on a series of monographs compiled by persons appointed by the Secretariat, on a consultative basis, who are familiar with the subject of assistance to the needy in the countries dealt with. Therefore, the information and comments extracted from these monographs do not, in any way, commit the Governments of those countries.

The nine countries on which information was assembled and the authors of the monographs are as follows:

MIDDLE EAST — *Egypt*: Mr. M. Fouad El-Bidewy, Director, Public Assistance, Social Security Department; *Iran*: Mr. D. Farman-Farmaian, former Counsellor, Ministry of Labour; *Libya*: Mr. G. W. Cole, former member of the Technical Assistance Mission to Libya.

FAR EAST — *Burma*: Professor Tun Thin, Department of Economics, University of Rangoon; *Ceylon*: Dr. R. L. Tiruchelvam, Acting Director of Social Services; *Japan*: Mr. Yoshisuke Kasai, President, Japanese School of Social Work.

LATIN AMERICA — *Bolivia*: Professor María Josefa Saavedra, formerly of the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés; *Chile*: Mrs.

¹ United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1952.IV.10.

² Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fourteenth Session, Supplement No. 9 (E/2247), paras. 134-146.

³ Economic and Social Council resolution 434 C (XIV).

Valentina Maidagan de Ugarte, former teacher at the Escuela Alejandro del Río; *Ecuador*: Mr. Marco Carrillo G., Supervisor, Escuela Nacional de Servicio Social.

Mr. G. W. Cole was appointed a consultant to assist the Bureau of Social Affairs in the preparation of the report.

Although the monographs follow a common basic outline, the information which they contain varies greatly in scope from country to country. The conditions with which they deal are so different that the authors have necessarily varied appreciably in the emphasis which they have placed on certain aspects and it should not be assumed that because some features are mentioned as existing in some of the countries they are necessarily absent in the others.

An attempt has been made, however, to emphasize the most important aspects of the problems of each country and to indicate those methods of administering assistance to the needy which would seem to be of particular significance to less-developed countries by summarizing the information contained in the monographs and by reproducing a number of extracts.

Reproduction of extracts has been resorted to whenever the actual wording of the monograph, where appropriate, as translated, has seemed to convey a more vivid and realistic picture than could be achieved by condensation or paraphrase. Except where otherwise stated, all passages in quotation marks refer to verbatim extracts from the monographs.

With a view to providing a general background for the subsequent treatment of the main subject of this report, the first chapter is devoted to a description of some social and economic characteristics of the countries concerned. This background information was considered to be useful in explaining the scope of existing schemes of assistance to the needy and in discussing methods of administering such assistance in less-developed areas.

The conditions and measures in force described in the report are based on the information available at the time the monographs were compiled, namely in 1953.

More recent information has, however, occasionally been used in cases where relevant data were available in the Secretariat or in the specialized agencies. Moreover, advantage has been taken of various documents of the United Nations and the specialized agencies to supplement the information contained in the monographs where this has seemed to be desirable.

In certain of the countries covered in the report, political or economic conditions were in a state of transition during the period to which the monographs relate and, no doubt, by the time this report is published, some of the facts to which it refers may be a matter of history rather than an indication of the current situation. Nevertheless, it is believed that the report will serve a useful purpose, and will help the Social Commission and the Economic and Social

Council to consider what would be the most satisfactory methods of organizing assistance in less-developed countries and to formulate recommendations for international action.

The report was reviewed by the specialised agencies concerned, namely the International Labour Organisation, the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the World Health Organization. These agencies contributed additional material and helpful observations and suggestions.

INTRODUCTION

1. The problem of the relief of poverty in less-developed countries is necessarily very different in character from the corresponding problem in more advanced and industrialized countries. Poverty is one of the components of the vicious circle of which the other components are malnutrition, disease, under-production and ignorance. All five components, in varying degrees, are characteristic of the conditions obtaining in less-developed countries and the plans for social and economic development aim to break this circle. Schemes for the provision of assistance to the needy have, undoubtedly, a part to play in these plans.

2. The elimination of ignorance by progress in education and public administration represents a major contribution to the reduction of both mass and individual poverty. The conquest of disease, similarly, removes a major cause of the inability of individuals to provide for their own needs, and contributes to the material prosperity of the whole community in so far as it adds to the productivity of labour. However, improvements in public health may, at the same time, tend to accentuate conditions which cause mass and individual poverty, at any rate until some degree of stability has been reached. Better health and a lower death rate speed up the growth of population if the birth rate is unchanged. The result is to add to the difficulty of expanding production rapidly enough to provide an adequate supply of food and other goods and services to the mass of consumers, particularly in those less-developed agricultural countries where there is an insufficiency of cultivable land. Moreover, in so far as the increase in population results in a higher proportion of "non-active" persons, it increases the dependency factor which, in turn, has an important bearing on individual poverty.

3. In the more advanced and prosperous countries, the terms "living in poverty" and "needy" are regarded as being synonymous; but it would clearly be meaningless to attach the same significance to the term "needy" in countries where the great majority of the people are poor in the sense that they are compelled to adopt a level of living which is well below that prevailing in any "developed" country and which may be insufficient for the maintenance of a reasonable state of health. "Less-developed" and "needy" are both relative terms and their relative significance is increased when used in conjunction. It is, therefore, not practicable to give any precise connotation to the word "needy" as used in reference to the

people of less-developed territories. For the primary purpose of this report, the term "needy" has been taken to cover persons who through temporary or permanent circumstances peculiar to them (including the contingencies of unemployment, physical and mental disabilities, old age or immaturity) have not available, in one form or another, the means of subsistence up to the level prevailing among the majority of the people living in the same town or community. Even on this basis, however, there can be no hard and fast line between the "needy" and the rest of the population in the conditions of less-developed countries. To take the question of employment alone, whereas in a developed industrial country it is usually possible to distinguish clearly between the employed and the unemployed, in the less-developed and predominantly agricultural countries there is frequently a whole series of gradations between those who are fully employed and those who are completely inactive. For this reason, the report cannot readily be limited to dealing with certain well-defined classes of "needy" persons.

4. As has been pointed out in the study entitled *Methods of Administering Assistance to the Needy*, the terms "social security", "social insurance", "public assistance" (or "public relief") and "social assistance" have acquired different meanings in different countries and this is clearly the case in the nine countries with which this report is concerned. For the purposes of the report, therefore, the term "assistance to the needy" is regarded as covering all the varied forms of assistance which are directly related to the existence of need, as distinct from benefits under schemes of social insurance. These last are intended, and do indeed serve, to prevent need, but are based primarily on an entitlement by virtue of the payment of insurance premiums in the form of contributions and not on the ascertained presence of need resulting from the occurrence of the contingency covered by the insurance. In the case of those countries with comprehensive systems of "social security", as this term is more usually understood, schemes of assistance based on actual need are used as a means of providing for the minority of persons who do not qualify for insurance benefits and, in some instances, to supplement such benefits. In most of the less-developed countries, on the other hand, social insurance has either not been introduced at all or, if it has, its scope is limited to a comparatively small section of the "active" population working in industry or commerce on a cash-wage basis; consequently the actual or potential role of assistance schemes in these countries is of greater relative significance. Furthermore, whereas the chief characteristic of assistance schemes in many "developed" countries is the payment on an income maintenance basis of regular cash allowances which continue so long as the state of need exists and which are available to all needy persons throughout the country irrespective of the cause of need, such schemes of assistance as exist in the less-developed countries take this form much less frequently.

5. Because of the close interrelation of the provision of assistance on the basis of ascertained need and other forms of social security, it would be misleading, if not indeed impracticable, to deal with assistance as an isolated subject; hence references to social insurance and to other social security measures are made throughout this report.

6. The fact that a country is not fully developed usually means that, among other handicaps, it does not possess a comprehensive system of governmental administration which is a feature of more advanced countries where illiteracy is practically unknown and where reliable records of such matters as births and deaths are available. Moreover, public administration in the less-developed countries is frequently handicapped by inadequate transport and communication facilities in areas where distances between centres of population are enormous; in some instances, a not inconsiderable proportion of the inhabitants may be continuously on the move or living in isolated communities completely out of touch with any central or local government machinery. Where, in addition to a high degree of illiteracy, some or all of these conditions obtain, it is inevitable that precise statistics and other information about the population of the country are not available. This lack of adequate information, which extends to the conditions of living and the degree of need, is a factor which must continuously be borne in mind in the perusal of this report and, more particularly, in the interpretation of statistical data.

Chapter I

SOME SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SELECTED COUNTRIES

7. This chapter summarizes certain features of the nine countries covered by the report which, although not necessarily directly related to the question of assistance to the needy, nevertheless serve to give some indication of the wide variations in the background of the problem. The method by which assistance for the needy can most appropriately be provided must necessarily be related to the circumstances giving rise to the need, whether these circumstances are, for instance, the lack of suitable cultivable land or the loss of cash wages through unemployment. The causes of need are, in turn, related to a number of factors, including the demographic, geographic, social and economic features of the country. It must be emphasized that no attempt has been made to prepare a comprehensive and balanced survey of these features in all nine countries and that reference is limited to some of the more outstanding characteristics which bear on the subject of this report.

POPULATION AND POPULATION DENSITIES

8. The population figures quoted in chapter II of the *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation*⁴ indicate that some 1,600 million people—roughly two thirds of the total world population—were living in less-developed territories in 1951. The nine countries covered by the present study have an aggregate population of approximately 164 million. The estimated population, at mid-year 1953, and the area and density of population⁵ of these countries are set forth below.

Country	Population (thousands)	Area (thousands of square kilometres)	Population per square kilometre	Capital city and population ^a (thousands)
Bolivia	3,107	1,099 ^b	3	La Paz (321)
Burma	19,045	678	28	Rangoon (700)
Ceylon	8,155	66	124	Colombo (425)
Chile	6,072	742	8	Santiago (1,507)

^a Latest census figures or estimates. Population figures for capitals are not strictly comparable as the extent of the purely urban areas varies according to administrative definitions.

^b Provisional.

⁴ United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1952.IV.11.

⁵ *Demographic Yearbook 1954*, United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1954.XIII.5.

Country	Population (thousands)	Area (thousands of square kilometres)	Population per square kilometre	Capital city and population* (thousands)
Ecuador	3,464	271 ^b	13	Quito (213)
Egypt	21,935	1,000	22	Cairo (2,100)
Iran	20,253	1,630	12	Tehran (619)
Japan	86,700	368	235	Tokyo (5,385)
Libya	1,500	1,760	1	{ Tripoli (142) Benghazi (60)

* Latest census figures or estimates. Population figures for capitals are not strictly comparable as the extent of the purely urban areas varies according to administrative definitions.

^b Provisional.

The figures shown above reveal many striking differences in population density, the two extremes being Japan and Libya. The four islands which comprise postwar Japan have a total area of less than 400,000 square kilometres (of which some 75 per cent is too mountainous for cultivation) and a population density of more than 200 per square kilometre; Libya extends over an area of 1,760,000 square kilometres (of which some 90 per cent is desert) and a population density of less than one per square kilometre. In Tokyo alone there are nearly five times as many people as in the whole of the vast territory of Libya. These figures provide some indication of the contrast between the administrative problems of the two countries in operating any scheme which is concerned with the welfare of the people.

9. Within individual countries there are similar considerable variations in population density. The crude density figure for Egypt, with its population of 22 million, is 22 per square kilometre, but the inhabited part of the country is limited to the delta and valley of the Nile, where the population density is much higher than in the most thickly populated European country. In the same way, while the crude density figure for the whole of Chile is 8 per square kilometre, the figure for the Santiago and Valparaiso provinces is nearly 150; deserts and forest cover three quarters of the country. Less than 2 per cent of Bolivia's territory of over one million square kilometres is cultivated and about a third of the total area is represented by the Andean plateau (the Altiplano), 4,000 metres above sea level which, together with its valleys, includes at least 80 per cent of the population, whereas the lowlands on the eastern border of the country are thinly populated by indigenous tribal communities. The 19 million people of Burma are very unevenly distributed over its area, and the greater part of Iran, like Egypt and Libya, consists of unproductive and consequently uninhabited territory. In Ceylon, some 70 per cent of the population is concentrated in the south-west region of the island which contains about two thirds of the cultivated area and where the population density is approximately 270 per square kilometre.

RATES OF POPULATION GROWTH

10. It is an established fact that human fertility in predominantly rural countries is higher than in those which are more industrialized. Moreover, in some territories, such as the Moslem countries of the Middle East, it is the traditional custom for girls to get married as soon as they reach the age of puberty. These factors tend to increase the rate of growth of the population, but until recent years their effect has been largely offset by the high mortality rate, with the result that the net annual increase in population has not in general exceeded 1.5 per cent and in some territories has been below 1 per cent. Because of the high mortality rate, the expectation of life in less-developed territories has remained very much below that of more advanced countries. During the decade 1920-30, for instance, the expectation of life at birth in Egypt was 33.5 years, compared with just under 60 years for the white population of the United States.⁶ A decline in the mortality rate which is unaccompanied by a decline in the birth rate necessarily increases the burden of the maintenance of children within the individual family. On the other hand, whilst a falling mortality rate also gives rise to an increase in the number of old people, the proportion of the population which they represent remains unaffected.

11. With the improvement in health measures during recent years, there has been a very pronounced change in the rate of population growth. An outstanding example of this is Ceylon where, due almost entirely to the successful campaign against malaria, the annual death rate has decreased by 40 per cent since 1946, whilst the birth rate has remained unchanged, with the result that the natural increase in population has reached the phenomenally high figure of 3 per cent per annum.

12. On the other hand, in Burma and Libya, where the struggle against disease has not yet made the same progress and where the infant mortality rates are still of the order of 30 per cent, the annual increase in population is still no more than 1 per cent. The rates of population increase are of particular significance in countries like Japan (where the expectation of life at birth has increased from 44.4 years at the beginning of the century to 57.9 years at the present time) and Egypt, where serious overcrowding already exists. Although the rate of population increase in neither of these countries is comparable with that of Ceylon, it is in both instances sufficiently high to aggravate the position and to cause concern for the future.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL DISTRICTS

13. It will be evident throughout this report that the fundamental differences between conditions in the urban and rural areas of less-developed countries constitute a major problem from administrative

⁶ *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation*, p. 16.

and other standpoints in relation to the provision of assistance to the needy. It is quite impracticable to draw a sharp dividing line between urban and rural populations in countries where the mode of life ranges through that obtaining in the national capitals, provincial capitals, smaller cities, towns and villages to the primitive existence still led in the many remote, and frequently isolated, small scattered communities. For the broad purpose of this study, however, "rural" districts have been defined as those in which the majority of the people look to some form of agriculture for their means of livelihood.

14. With the exception of Japan (where the proportions of town and country dwellers are roughly equal) and Chile (where 60 per cent of the total population is estimated to be urban), the rural population of each of the nine countries represents considerably more than one half the total. In Ceylon and Libya more than 80 per cent of the population can be classed as rural and the proportion is not very much lower in Bolivia, Burma, Ecuador, Egypt and Iran. Seven of the nine countries are, therefore, outstandingly rural in character, but in several of these countries there are some surprising instances of concentrated urban populations. In Burma, nearly three million people are now living in cities and towns; the capital of Ceylon has a population of 425,000 and the capitals of Egypt and Iran have populations of over two million and one million respectively; in Iran, also, apart from the capital, there are seven towns with a population of more than 100,000 each.

ECONOMIC RESOURCES

15. In spite of the predominantly rural character of the nine countries, most of them possess fairly extensive economic resources in addition to their agricultural potentialities. All three of the Latin American countries dealt with have considerable mineral deposits. The United Nations Mission of Technical Assistance to Bolivia in its report⁷ stressed the contrast between the unsatisfactory condition of life of the people and the wealth of natural resources available to them and drew attention to the great diversity of raw materials and sources of power available. Chile has substantial economic assets in the form of deposits of copper and coal in addition to its nitrates, and Ecuador has a certain amount of oil to supplement its agricultural production. Burma is rich in mineral resources which have as yet been only partially explored and this is true, to a lesser extent, of Egypt. The extensive oilfields of Iran represent that country's main economic asset. Japan has a variety of mineral deposits, but none is sufficient to result in a substantial output. Ceylon, with its 85 per cent rural population, depends on the growing of tea, rubber and coconuts, in that order, for its economic life.

⁷ *Report of the United Nations Mission of Technical Assistance to Bolivia*, United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1951.II.B.5.

Libya is by far the least fortunate of all the countries as regards economic resources; there are virtually no raw materials whatever, no power resources; there is a serious shortage of water, for there is not a single river in the whole country and, except in the coastal belt, the rainfall is negligible, so that the greater part of the country is uncultivable.

16. The possibilities of raising the level of living of the people of a less-developed country as a whole are manifestly related to the economic resources of the country. The same general considerations apply to improving the conditions of those who, because of some individual hardship or misfortune, find themselves in need of the basic requirements of life with no means of obtaining them by their own efforts. Clearly, a country like Bolivia with a wealth of resources at its disposal is in a much more favourable position than, say, Libya to ensure, by the exploitation of these resources in conjunction with fiscal and administrative measures, that adequate assistance is made available to its most needy people. The equitable distribution of the wealth of any country raises difficult social, political, administrative and economic problems, but these problems are immensely increased where there is little to distribute.

SUBSISTENCE COSTS AND RATES OF WAGES

17. A comparison of minimum subsistence costs, rates of wages and levels of living between one country and another involves very complex problems, even when accurate and adequate statistical data are available. It is outside the scope of this report to attempt to make such comparison in the case of the nine countries with which the report is concerned. Indeed, the information contained in the monographs upon which this report is based does not lend itself to any scientific analysis of the position within each country. The most that can be done is to draw attention to references made in five of the monographs to the relation at the time the monographs were prepared (1953) between estimated subsistence costs and prevailing rates of wages. The currencies in use in the nine countries concerned and their official exchange rates, as of 1 January 1954, in terms of United States dollars are shown below.⁸

<i>Country</i>	<i>Currency unit</i>	<i>Official exchange rate per U.S. dollar*</i>
Bolivia	Boliviano	Bs. 190
Burma	Kyat	K. 4.76
Ceylon	Rupce	Rs. 4.76
Chile	Peso	P. 110
Ecuador	Sucré	S/15

* These rates should not be taken as reflecting purchasing power relationships with the dollar.

⁸ Data compiled by the United Nations Office of the Controller.

<i>Country</i>	<i>Currency unit</i>	<i>Official exchange rate per U.S. dollar^a</i>
Egypt	Egyptian pound (100 piastres)	£ E. 0.35
Iran	Rial	Rls. 80
Japan	Yen	Y. 360
Libya	Libyan pound	£ Lib. 0.36

^a These rates should not be taken as reflecting purchasing power relationships with the dollar.

Bolivia

"In 1953 the Chamber of Industry estimated that a family of five (man, wife and three dependent children) required an income of 25,000 bolivianos a month for their maintenance but it is stated that minimum wages at that time were 12,000 bolivianos a month."

Chile

"It is estimated that the minimum required for the maintenance of a family of five is the equivalent of two living wages, at present 15,100 pesos. Recent statistics show that only 5 per cent of the workers and 16 per cent of the privately employed can keep a normal family at a minimum standard of living. Similar calculations show that 60 per cent of the wage-earning population earns less than a living wage... The figure of 7,550 pesos a month has been fixed on the basis of the cost of living as the minimum subsistence wage for individual wage-earners. This can be taken as a figure below which the needs of subsistence cannot be met. In many cases the father is the only member of the family who works and large families cannot easily cover essential expenditure on lodging, food and clothing on a wage equivalent to the minimum subsistence for one individual... moreover, whilst the vast majority of workers and private employees can just cover their own requirements, they cannot maintain a family."

Ecuador

"Minimum subsistence levels... would be represented by incomes up to 300 sucres a month for families of five persons, consisting of two adults and three minors. Families limited to a budget of this sort usually buy second-hand clothing... they make no provision for recreation, medicines or any other unforeseen expense, which they would cover by loans or by pawning." The monograph gives details of the household budgets representative of the three main ethnic groups in the country; that for a lower middleclass family consisting of man, wife and three young children, in the capital city of Quito shows a monthly expenditure of 588 sucres of which 436 sucres is accounted for by food. The head of the household's monthly income as an employee is stated to be 320 sucres."

Iran

"There is... a minimum wage for industrial workers which is fixed twice a year according to conditions prevailing in different areas and the cost of food. This minimum wage fluctuates from 34 to 45 rials daily, according to the area and according to the official market price of foodstuffs. For the time being that is the only official figure that can be taken as a guide. In terms of the actual price of foodstuffs, however, the minimum wage would be 80 rials."

Libya

"It was estimated in 1951 that based on current market prices in Tripoli an adequate diet for a family of man, wife and two children would cost the equivalent of \$4.53 a week, whereas the maximum rate for an unskilled labourer employed in Tripoli by the Government was \$2.82."

18. The foregoing references serve to indicate that, at any rate in the five countries concerned, minimum rates of cash wages, although they may be adequate for the wage-earner himself, are in general insufficient to enable him to support an average family on a level of subsistence compatible with the maintenance of a reasonable standard of health, thus emphasizing the part played by the burden of dependency as a cause of need. Against this background of low wage rates—even though wages as such do not represent the normal source of livelihood for the majority of the people of the countries concerned—it is not difficult to realize that the expression "needy" takes on a different significance when applied to the poorest section of the people of a less-developed country compared with its use to describe the corresponding section of the population of an economically developed country.

19. The difficulties of the lower paid wage-earner, to say nothing of those who are unable to earn, have been aggravated by the internal economic instability of some of the selected countries as reflected in a rapid and continuous decline in the purchasing power of the national currency, which has not been matched, or only belatedly so, by a corresponding increase in wages and in income from other sources such as social insurance benefits. These unstable conditions have, of course, obtained in many countries during and since the Second World War, but they necessarily bear with particular severity on that section of the population of the less-developed countries the means of subsistence of which is wholly or mainly in the form of a cash income which is insufficient for their reasonable requirements, even under conditions of stability. It is stated in the monograph on Bolivia that the effect of varying the rate of exchange between the dollar and the boliviano in May 1953 was to raise the "official" cost of living index by 150 per cent (recognized by a cost-of-living addition to minimum wages) but that the practical effect was an increase of more than 200 per cent. It is understood that since the monograph was prepared, the purchasing power of the boliviano has declined to such an extent that in the space of about two years, the actual cost of living has increased as much as six times. In Burma, the cost of living is said to have multiplied by five to eight times since the end of the Second World War, whereas wages have only increased twice to three times; the cost of living in the capital of Chile in 1953 is recorded as being four and a half times that of 1943.

INCOME DISTRIBUTION: THE GAP BETWEEN RICH AND POOR

20. It is characteristic of some of the less-developed countries that there is a wide gap between the small minority of rich persons and the great majority of the very poor. In many countries, it is common for the people to be regarded as being divided into broad classes, such as upper, middle, and lower, according to their income and social standing, but in the more developed countries legislation and economic measures since the beginning of the present century have resulted in the gradual merging of one class with another. This "levelling" process has been carried out partly by reducing the previous wide disparity between rates of remuneration of the unskilled, skilled and professional worker—usually by raising the wages of the lower paid workers—and partly by systems of taxation. That there has not, in general, been a similar redistribution of income in the less-developed countries is due in part to the fact that the slower rate of development is reflected in the wages structure and taxation system of the country. But there are also a number of other important contributory factors, including, in some countries, the existence of different ethnic groups with their own traditional standard of living and, in other countries, the existence of a barter economy throughout the rural districts. In the *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation*, it is pointed out (p. 133) that where "salary earners" are distinguished from "wage earners" in income statistics, the average income of the former in the less-developed countries is sometimes as much as twelve times greater than that of the latter, whereas in more developed countries the ratio is apparently less than two to one.

21. On the other hand, the following comment in the monograph on Burma suggests that an uneven distribution of income is not necessarily a feature of every less-developed country: "The distribution of wealth in Burma is not too uneven, that is to say, this is not a country where the few are extremely rich and the many are extremely poor." There is also considerable similarity in standards of food and clothing among most sections of the people. However, although there is little evidence whether Burma follows the typical pattern of industrially less-developed countries in this respect, there is considerable evidence of the existence of geographic and occupational differentials.

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS OF THE WORKING POPULATION

22. It is a corollary of the predominantly rural character of seven of the nine countries dealt with that various forms of agricultural pursuits represent the principal occupations of the people of these countries and, even in the case of the two more industrialized countries—Chile and Japan—agriculture plays a very big part in the life of the people. In several of the countries, home handicrafts, fre-

quently associated with local agricultural products, are practised to widely varying extents.

23. Outside of agriculture, mining is one of the major sources of employment in the Latin American countries dealt with. Chile also has significant light industries. In Burma, forestry, mining and the exploitation of oil resources, as well as trade, distribution and transport provide the bulk of non-agricultural employment. Silk-making remains a major industry in Japan, while fisheries provide employment to a large number of persons and also supply an important part of the food supply of the population. In Iran, despite that country's potentialities as a source of oil, carpet-making is the biggest single industrial occupation. The limited amount of employment not connected directly or indirectly with agriculture in Ceylon, Ecuador, Egypt and Libya is spread over a variety of industrial and administrative undertakings.

THE ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE URBAN AND RURAL WAYS OF LIFE

24. In the more industrialized and developed territories where the minority (in some countries a very small minority) of the population live under rural conditions, there are usually some quite considerable differences between the urban and the rural ways of life in such matters as the standard of housing, cultural and recreational facilities, public transport services and the like. In the less-developed countries the differences are far more striking. The conditions of life in some parts of many of the capitals and other large cities of less-developed territories are not very different from those in the most advanced countries. Modern facilities in respect of housing, entertainment, public services and transport are as much a feature of the largest Latin American towns as they are of the cities of the United States and Canada. Whereas, in general, urban life has kept pace with twentieth century progress, the rural life of large parts of many less-developed territories is, however, no different in essence from what it was centuries ago in respect of agricultural methods and implements, transport and communication facilities, child labour, and housing and sanitation.

25. In the Middle East, for instance, although the living conditions in parts of cities such as Cairo, Alexandria and Tripoli are, in some respects, not very dissimilar to those obtaining in other large towns throughout the world, the way of life of the people in the villages on the banks of the Nile and of the tent-dwelling nomadic tribes of the Libyan desert differs little from that of their forefathers through the centuries. These striking contrasts between the urban and rural ways of life are reflected in the respective cost of living, for urban life usually entails substantial rents, higher expenditures on clothing and footwear and higher food costs. There are no less important social and ethnic differences to which reference is made

later. It is primarily in the rural district that the less-developed countries differ most markedly from others; and it has to be reiterated that the majority of the latter countries including those with which this report is concerned, are predominantly rural.

26. The foregoing broad generalizations about the contrast between the urban and rural conditions must, however, be qualified by mentioning the differences, in some instances very great differences, which are frequently to be found within the same town, more particularly where a "new city" has sprung up in juxtaposition to an "old city". An example of this is to be found in Libya, where the capital of Tripoli is virtually divided into two parts. In such towns, conditions in the older and unmodernized parts may well continue to be no less crude than they are in the rural districts as regards such matters as housing and sanitation. The outward division between "old" and "new" towns, where it exists, also usually marks the division between poverty and comparative prosperity as, leaving aside the development of "shanty towns" on the periphery of certain large cities (see para. 36 below), the poorest citizens are invariably to be found in the oldest and most neglected parts.

THE PEASANT WAY OF LIFE

27. For the people who live in rural areas and look to agriculture in some form or other as their means of subsistence, it is a characteristic of the nine countries dealt with in this report that this rural population most commonly engage in primitive cultivation of the soil or stock raising on their own farms or small-holdings and, less frequently, work for large farmers as agricultural labourers on a cash-wage basis. Exceptions to the general practice include the Tamils who are employed on the tea and rubber estates of Ceylon and the Indians and mestizos who work on the plantations and *haciendas* of the Latin American countries. Agriculture on a peasant basis is not merely a form of occupation; it represents a way of life. All the able-bodied members of a peasant family, regardless of age, take some part in the cultivation of the land at their disposal, which thus becomes a joint enterprise as well as the main, if not the sole, means of subsistence and the place which contains their home.

28. The extent to which peasant communities find difficulty in maintaining a reasonable level of subsistence is dependent upon a number of interrelated factors including climatic conditions, the richness of the soil and the amount of land at their disposal. One of the major problems of Japan is that the amount of cultivable land per head of the population is as low as one fifth of an acre, i. e. less than one tenth of a hectare. Land pressure in the valley of the Nile is, similarly, a serious problem in Egypt. Other factors are the limited skill with which the peasant cultivates his land and his lack of capital and suitable equipment to exploit it to the maximum advantage. But an equally important question and one which

involves sociological, economic and political difficulties is that of the conditions of land tenure. Apart from large-scale ownership, conditions of land tenure in the less-developed territories range from those of the independent peasant who owns his land outright, usually through the operation of the inheritance laws of the country, to the tenant who, through debt or other obligation, is tied to his landlord under a semi-feudal system and whose remuneration for cultivating his landlord's farm takes the form of a proportion (frequently a substantial proportion) of the harvest. In the more remote parts of Latin America, the land may belong to the community and a similar position obtains among the tribes and tribal sections of the Middle Eastern countries.

29. The important part played by systems of land tenure in the social conditions obtaining in the less-developed territories is referred to in the *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation*, published in 1952. As regards Latin America, the report states (pp. 137-139) that there are many Indians living on *haciendas* the owners of which allow them the use of the land in return for their labour and that, in Bolivia, there were, at that time, tens of thousands of small farms, probably covering no more than 10 per cent of the limited area under cultivation, the remainder of the cultivated area consisting of a relatively small number of vast estates. Measures of land reform which have been introduced into Bolivia since the Report was prepared have, however, resulted in a more balanced pattern of land distribution. The Report points out (p. 153) that, in the Middle East, a great many of the villagers are tenant sharecroppers and that, in Egypt, where rents have to be paid in cash, the payment due to the landowner may approach 50 per cent of the value of the crops. Referring to South and South East Asia, the Report records (p. 172) that lack of security of land tenure is often considered to be one of the greatest causes of unproductive land usage, of unemployment and of social unrest and that, where the holding is small or the rent particularly high, the tenant's family could not exist without an advance of grain before the harvest is reaped, because of the insufficiency of their share of the produce.

30. Of all the differences between the peasant way of life and that of the town-dweller, one which is particularly relevant to the subject of this report arises from the practice of subsistence farming and barter on the one hand, and a normal cash economy on the other. The extent to which rural populations use cash as a medium of exchange varies within individual countries as well as from one country to another. In some of the more remote rural communities, such as the Bedouin of the Middle East and the forest tribes of Latin America, the use of cash is practically unknown. Agricultural products which are surplus to the requirements of a family are bartered for other commodities, as for instance the exchange of cereals for animal products. In other peasant communities such as the village population of the valley of the Nile some part of the

crop is converted into cash, which is then used for purchasing in the nearest market in the ordinary way. In either circumstance, the basic requirements for food are not normally secured by means of a cash income.

31. The peasant way of life impinges upon other social and economic aspects which are closely related to questions of need and the level of living. In so far, for instance, as it tends to prevent children from attending school altogether (where schools are available) because they are required by their parents to tend animals, or results in their prolonged absence at certain seasons of the year, it serves to continue a state of ignorance and the poverty which so frequently goes with ignorance. Again, the benefits of an open air life are often nullified by unsuitable and insufficient food or by crude, overcrowded and insanitary housing conditions conducive to outbreaks of disease which spread rapidly.

MIGRATION FROM RURAL TO URBAN DISTRICTS

32. The drift towards the town has been an inevitable accompaniment of industrialization all over the world. In the more developed countries where some degree of equilibrium has been reached between agriculture and industry and where social and economic conditions in town and country have attained a comparable level, this process has slowed up to such an extent that it has ceased to be of any great significance. This is not, in general, the position in the less-developed territories. Increased industrialization and an insufficiency of cultivable land for the more fertile rural population are clearly two of the more important of the factors which contribute to the urge to abandon the rural way of life for that of the town. But social progress in the form of improved educational facilities also plays a significant part. Educated young persons who become conscious of the limitations and crudeness of rural life are attracted by the wider cultural, recreational and economic opportunities offered in the town. An example of a factor more immediately related to the question of need is the failure of the harvest owing to drought or other adverse conditions and the urge to seek an alternative means of livelihood in the place where it seems most likely to be found. A further factor in some countries has been the flight to the town as a place of refuge in time of war or civil disturbance.

33. The causes and effects of movement from rural localities to the towns are the subject of a number of references in the report entitled *Processes and Problems of Industrialization in under-developed Countries*.⁹ One such reference (p. 122) reads as follows:

"The so-called 'social consequences of industrialization' are, in many cases, little more than a transfer to the urban industrial environment (by population

⁹ United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1955.II.B.1.

movement) of problems of destitution and need that had previously existed in the rural environment, where, being less concentrated, they were less noticeable. Where stagnant and depressed agricultural communities force into the industrial centres uprooted peasants and tribesmen in numbers far beyond available opportunities for gainful employment, urban growth tends to reflect not the expansion of industry but the wretchedness of agricultural conditions and the high incidence of underemployment in rural areas. In countries with rapidly increasing rural populations this disproportion between employment opportunities and labour supply in the industrial areas, increasing constantly through new influxes from the country, has exercised a depressing effect on urban levels of living, to the extent that in some cases the newcomer to the town has merely substituted urban misery for rural poverty."

34. Some comments in the monographs on the reasons for and results of movement from rural to urban districts and of the related transition from agriculture to industry are set forth below.

Bolivia

"Some of the Indians who migrate to the towns from the country leave their legal wife and children in their *Ayllu*¹⁰ and live with another woman and raise another family in the town. After doing their military service other young Indians stay in the towns and tend to enter into non-legal unions rather than legal marriages."

Burma

"Before the Second World War, 75 per cent of the people lived in villages of 50 to 2,000 people and only 12 per cent lived in towns and cities of more than 5,000 persons. At the present day, due to the flight to the towns caused by the insurrections, which have driven the people away from their rural homes and from their usual occupations, the urban populations have increased to an alarming extent and this increase has led to overcrowding and to serious economic disorganisation. For instance, the population of Rangoon town has increased by 20 per cent and there is in addition a marked increase in the number of people living on the fringes of the city. In some of the smaller towns, the increases are even higher, some being as great as 100 per cent. In the 1953 sample census, in 32 towns covered, one-third of the people had moved to the town within the last four years... In the towns and cities poverty and economic stringency prevail. The immigrants from the rural districts to the towns are now eking out a meagre living or else living on charity far below the subsistence level."

Ceylon

"With the development of the country and the consequent movement of population from rural areas to the towns, and to places where paid employment was available, there commenced a gradual dislocation of the old ties, resulting in the cost of public assistance increasing abnormally in recent years."

¹⁰ An Inca organization based upon co-operative work or service by families linked together by blood or other ties.

Chile

"The urban population is continuously on the increase, whilst the rural population is decreasing. In the middle of the last century only one-seventh of the population lived in urban centres; today more than half the population live in cities and towns."

Iran

"A study of the situation in Iran reveals the co-existence of the different stages of development through which the advanced countries have had to pass during recent years, the successive phases of industrialization being found side by side within the country's boundaries. We are thus witnessing a process of social development and change against a background of traditions of great antiquity. The structure of society is inevitably affected by this process. While in certain parts of the country, the population still lives in the tribal manner, according to its usages and conditions, in other parts the population has reached a stage of progress as advanced as that of the most modern countries. Consequently, persons still untouched by civilization rub shoulders with others living in the most modern conditions. The contact so established is having far reaching effects."

35. This last reference to what is happening in Iran exemplifies the uneven transitional processes which are now taking place in countries where traditional customs and habits are being abandoned by some of the population whilst still being adhered to by others. The unevenness of the process creates its own social and economic problems for the Governments of the countries concerned.

36. The transfer from a precarious rural existence to regular and relatively well-paid employment in a town has obvious advantages, but migrants to the cities in less-developed countries not infrequently worsen their conditions and lower their standard of living, at least in some respects. They are often housed in congested and unhealthy "shanty towns" on the outskirts of the city where the individual home may consist of no more than a one-roomed hut constructed of odd pieces of timber or sheets of tin. It is estimated, for instance, that in Santiago (Chile) as many as 50,000 people were, in 1953, living in shanties of this kind on waste land, or even rubbish dumps, on the fringes of the city, without adequate water supply or drainage. During the same year, thousands of people were living in similar conditions on the outskirts of the two capitals of Libya (Tripoli and Benghazi). These squalid conditions are often associated with large scale unemployment, crime, including juvenile delinquency, and a general lowering of standards of morality. There seems to be little doubt that the transition from the comparatively healthy open-air life of the country—with all its hardships—frequently results in all-round deterioration of character and physique. This is particularly true of those Bedouin of the Middle East who exchange the nomadic tent life of the desert, with its constant exposure to the elements for the congested and static conditions of a shanty town on the outskirts of a big city.

37. Reference is made later in this report to the important fact that, where schemes of assistance for the needy are in existence in the less-developed countries, they operate more effectively in the towns than in the rural districts. It is clearly necessary, in these circumstances, to safeguard against the possibility of inducing the more impoverished members of rural communities to remove to the towns solely in order to benefit themselves at the expense of the general community.

INDIGENOUS POPULATIONS AND MINORITY COMMUNITIES

38. Probably one of the most outstanding characteristics of Latin America as a whole is the survival in some areas of an indigenous or Indian population with their own languages, sociological patterns, traditional customs and ways of life. Bolivia, Chile and Ecuador each have such an indigenous population, but there are considerable differences between the three countries in the proportion of this population to the total. In all three countries there is a basic ethnic pattern, consisting of the original Indian peoples, the mestizos or mixed population resulting from the inter-marriage of Indians and whites, and the white population. In Ecuador and Bolivia, the pattern is further complicated by the existence of small groups of the descendants of negro slaves and the result of their inter-marriages: "mulattos" in the case of negro and white; "zambos" in the case of negro and Indian and "cholos" of mixed Indian, negro and white blood. The information contained in the monographs, coupled with that contained in the report entitled *Indigenous Peoples*, published by the International Labour Office in 1953, gives the following approximate statistical picture for the three countries:

Bolivia

Whites	10 per cent
Mestizos	30 per cent
Indians	60 per cent

Chile

The total number of Indians in the country in May 1950 was stated to be about 240,000, including mestizos who share the Indians' way of life.

Ecuador

	<i>Mountain areas</i>	<i>Coastal areas</i>
White	28 per cent	27 per cent
Indian	30 per cent	10 per cent
Mestizo	40 per cent	18 per cent
Mulatto	under 2 per cent	30 per cent
Negro	under 1 per cent	15 per cent

39. For the general reasons indicated in the Introduction, and because of the uncertain definition of racial groups, it must be emphasized that the foregoing statistics should be treated with all reserve. In particular, it is unwise to attempt to make anything like a precise comparison between one country and another on the basis of the figures quoted.

40. Subject to the reservations noted in the preceding paragraph, the broad picture is that while the people of Chile are predominantly white, white people represent only about one in ten in Bolivia and about one in four in Ecuador. The distribution of these indigenous and mixed populations does not conform to any common pattern. In Chile, large numbers of them live in reserves and both in that country and Ecuador, the main communal groups are more usually found in the more remote parts. In Bolivia, as in many of the other Latin American countries, there is now no clear distinction between "whites" and "mestizos", particularly among the urban population. In contrast to this integration with the white population in the towns, one of the major tribes of forest Indians in Ecuador, numbering between 15,000 and 20,000, is referred to as "warlike and has never accepted white domination."¹¹ The presence in one territory of followers of an aboriginal way of life and those who have adopted the most advanced forms of civilization, with the inclusion of all the intermediate gradations, emphasizes the impracticability of applying the same system of administration to all the people of a country in a state of incomplete development and the great difficulty of introducing schemes of assistance for the needy in more remote regions.

41. Mixed populations are also a feature of the sociological structures of Burma, Ceylon and Iran. Of Burma's 19 million inhabitants, about 66 per cent can be described as "Burmese". Eight other ethnic and linguistic groups, representing 25 per cent of the total population are indigenous to the country, of which the Karens (9 per cent) and the Shans (7 per cent) are the two largest. Some three or four per cent of the present inhabitants of Burma originated in the Indian sub-continent; other non-indigenous groups include Chinese and Europeans. One result of the gaining of independence by Burma in 1947 has been to lessen the part played by the "foreign" communities in the life of the country. The indigenous people of Ceylon, the Sinhalese, represent about two thirds of the total population, the two next largest groups are the Tamils (20 per cent) and the Moors (6 per cent); apart from their relatively large numbers, the Tamils—immigrants from the Indian mainland and so called because of their use of the Tamil language—play a particularly important part in the social and industrial structure of the island. The balance of the population of Ceylon includes Burghers (descendants of earlier Dutch settlers), Eurasians, Malays and Europeans.

¹¹ *Indigenous Peoples*, p. 49.

The people of Iran include a number of minority communities, such as the Kurds, Turkish-speaking Azerbaijanians and Arabs.

42. There are no minority communities of any significance in Egypt (with the exception of the cosmopolitan city of Alexandria) and Japan, although, in the case of the former, the population are not of a common origin or belong to the same sect within the Moslem religion. In Libya, where the indigenous population originated as Arab, Berber or African, but now adheres universally to the Arab way of life and the Moslem religion, there is an important Italian community in Tripolitania which together with Cyrenaica and the Fezzan, constitutes the United Kingdom of Libya. Of the 47,000 Italians, about half live in the city of Tripoli; the other half are to be found among the farms and settlements throughout Tripolitania; there are no Italians remaining in Cyrenaica. Until recent years Libya also had a relatively large Jewish community and, although this has been drastically reduced in size due to emigration to Israel, the remainder, together with the Italians, continue to have an important role in the industrial and commercial life of Tripoli.

TRIBAL AND OTHER COMMUNITY GROUPINGS

43. Various forms of community groupings, mainly ethnic in origin, are characteristic of the rural populations of most less-developed territories. To some extent, these groupings tend to take the place occupied by local or central government administrative units in more advanced countries and they are frequently integrated with the governmental organization. In general, the less-developed the country in the sense of adherence to a primitive way of life, the greater the strength of the communal ties. There are strong tribal affiliations in some parts of Latin America and the life of the rural people of the Middle East is to varying degrees based on the tribal structure. The sheikh of the Libyan *cabila* (tribal section) is accepted as a leader not only by the men of the *cabila*, but also by the Government. He acts as a spokesman for his people in making representations to the Government, but he may also act as tax collector on behalf of the Government—an example of the integration mentioned above. The village headmen in Ceylon and Burma play a similar role. The traditional habit of the nomadic and semi-nomadic desert peoples of the Middle East of travelling in tribal groups is a striking instance of the influence of tribal affiliations as a cohesive force to the extent of determining the day-to-day movements of the individual family. The basis of nearly all tribal organizations is the common association with the land. Conditions which lead to migration to the towns result in breaking this link with the land and consequently weaken the strength of tribal ties. The importance of the tribal structure in relation to the subject of this report lies in the tradition of mutual assistance to which reference is made later.

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

44. The family, regardless of definition, is, of course, the basic element in the social structure of any community. In most developed and industrialized countries the term "family" is generally used in the restricted sense of the unit represented by a man and wife and the unmarried children living with them. From the following monograph extracts it will be seen that the conception of the "family" as the basic social unit is very much wider, although in varying degrees, in a number of less-developed countries and more particularly in those where tribal and community affiliations continue to play an effective part.

Bolivia

"Most rural Indian families are bound together by civil and religious marriage; the head of the family also has powers of control over the relations' work and administration of the family in the *Ayllu*."

Burma

"Among the peoples of Burma, the family pattern is fairly uniform, although there are some variations. The average strength of the family is estimated to be five among the Burmese and slightly higher among some of the hill peoples. Children of the family can set up separate homes after getting married or they can continue to stay with their parents — this depends on their means. The latter course is more common. In the Burmese family, usually it is the boy who goes to stay with the girl in her father's home for some time after marriage."

Ceylon

"In the villages, the family generally lives as a unit and is usually dependent on the paddy fields and other small holdings which are cultivated by the family as a joint enterprise. Under this joint and undivided family system as many as three generations often live together at any time in the same house. It is a kind of patriarchal organisation where the eldest member of the family is invested with supreme authority in the conduct of family affairs. Correspondingly, the senior female member — the mother or the wife of the male head — is the female head."

Egypt

"The Egyptian family is characterised by being a large unit with strong family relations as a family group. This is not limited... as in Western Europe and the United States. According to Egyptian tradition the family is defined to consist of everybody bearing the same surname, whether they are sharing the same shelter, dwelling in the same town or not."

Iran

"Today, except for the section of the population which still lives under the tribal system and in certain remote agricultural areas, the family is a well-defined social unit. Social legislation treats it as consisting of close relatives, such as husband, wife, father, mother and children. Relatives of the second degree are not deemed to be members of the family for the purposes of social assistance."

Japan

"The society is maintained by the family institution in this country. In our society not the individual, but the family has been considered as the constituent of the State. The family itself rather than the individual has been respected. To raise the family income has been the supreme command and the idea of respecting individual rights has not been fully developed. In such a system, the family life is based on the patriarchal and consanguineous family organization. The husband, father and the expectant line are highly esteemed and the children other than the expectant line are still in the low status. The new Constitution and the Civil Code have provided that the family life shall be maintained on the basis of equality, co-operation and mutual respect, and the structure of the Japanese family has been changing gradually for the last few years. But there is little change in the general situation."

45. The importance of cultural and social relationships of the extended family as it exists in Latin America and the Middle East is referred to in the *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation* as follows:

Latin America

"Latin American culture is known for its emphasis upon familial relationships; it is customary to recognize kinship with cousins several degrees removed and with other distant relatives. Moreover, ritual kinship among the godparents, their godchildren and the children's parents (the *compadrazgo* system) adds to the large group of relatives by forming traditional ties of mutual aid between friends. This large circle of relatives, sometimes numbering over a hundred, and these ties of ritual kinship are often the principal means of social security for rural Latin Americans" (p. 146).

Middle East

"The extended family, consisting of an elderly male head and all his male descendants and their wives, plus married females, is the norm in the Middle East. It is most firmly established in the villages and among the nomads, although it likewise survives in a modified form in the cities. The extended family is the basic unit of Middle Eastern economy... As long as the family lives together and earns its livelihood together and as long as the property of the family is held and controlled by its head, paternal authority is strong... In traditional Middle Eastern society the family is thus the principal social structure within which the individual must fit closely and to the control of which he must submit"¹² (p. 152).

46. It will be seen from the above-quoted references that, as in the case of the tribal structure, the practical significance of the extended family in relation to the question of assistance to the needy lies in the inference of the principle of mutual aid.

¹² The reference in the monograph on Egypt quoted in para. 44 suggests that, where members of the extended family become scattered, they, nevertheless, continue to have family ties. The explanation seems to be that, in practice, paternal authority cannot be exercised in such circumstances.

MAINTENANCE WITHIN THE FAMILY

47. The obligation of a man to provide for the maintenance of his wife and children is accepted in principle, at least, in all countries—whether highly developed or less-developed. The obligation may be written into the laws of the country in very precise terms or it may be based on equally binding religious or traditional customs, but throughout history, its acceptance has been universal and has resulted in the “family” forming one of the key supports in the social structure of all lands. Where, however, as in some of the countries with which this report is concerned, there is, in practice, no serious obstacle to the repudiation of the marriage bond by either partner, the husband is able to divest himself of his obligation, with the consequence that the wife has to look elsewhere for her own maintenance and that of her children who remain with her. As it concerns the subject of this report, the important feature of family maintenance in many less-developed countries lies in the fact that the scope of obligation may include brothers and sisters as well as more distant relatives and, in some instances, persons bound by ties of “ritual kinship” (often where no degree of consanguinity exists). Other factors which bear on the question of maintenance liabilities as between relatives include the prevailing legal and religious attitudes towards inheritance, wife desertion, divorce and illegitimacy. These aspects of dependency are of such importance in relation to the problem of need in the countries under review that it is desirable to quote fairly extensively from references to them in the monographs.

Bolivia

“Concubinary unions are common only among a minority of the middle class, but legal marriage has been undermined by divorce followed by a second marriage, resulting in an increase in the number of children of divorced parents who suffer from their parents’ neglect of their obligations to support them, which have to be assumed by the State... Under Bolivian law, desertion of the family is not an offence and the obligation to provide maintenance is enforced only in the case of legal divorce or separation and when the court gives the mother custody of the children. In other cases, legitimate, non-acknowledged and even acknowledged children have no legal means of enforcing their claim to maintenance... The Civil Code refers to the mutual obligations of husband and wife, of parents towards their children, and of children towards their parents and other ascendants living in poverty, including stepchildren, stepfathers or stepmothers... Article 123 of the Civil Code refers to ‘other relatives in a state of destitution’, but does not lay down the manner in which relatives can enforce the liability or define the degree of relationship covered by the obligation. In general, the obligation to furnish maintenance is confined to relatives in the first degree and, in the case of divorce, to the children and in a few cases to the wife.”

The following information on the family maintenance position in Bolivia is also noted in the monograph:

- (1) Concubinary unions are legalized if the parties make application to the competent court and prove that they have lived together for two years

or that there is a child of the union. In the absence of such legislation, the children remain "unacknowledged".

- (2) Most of the Indians in the rural areas are legally married and divorce is less frequent in those areas than in the towns and villages.
- (3) The requirements of the Civil Code as regards maintenance by liable relatives are in practice very difficult to enforce.
- (4) The legislation governing the system of family and nursing allowances introduced in 1953 provides that these allowances shall normally be paid to the father, but if he fails to devote them to their proper purpose, the only redress open to the mother is to apply to the Labour Court.

Burma

"According to Burmese Buddhist teaching, the parents have an assurance that they will be looked after by their children when they have become old and are incapable of earning any longer. This is, of course, only a moral obligation and not a legal one. However, it is a binding obligation and any son or daughter who did not look after his aged mother or father or both would be regarded as beyond the pale by his friends and other relatives. Moreover, it is not unusual for a person to be supporting numerous other needy relatives such as unmarried sisters, orphaned nieces and nephews, etc... Under the Burmese Buddhist Law, a man must maintain and support his wife and children. It is the duty of a husband to provide subsistence for his wife and to furnish her with suitable clothes and ornaments. Should he fail to do so, he is liable to pay debts contracted by her for necessities... Under Section 488 of the Code of Criminal Procedure in force in Burma, a Burman Buddhist wife can always claim maintenance from her husband when she is justified in living apart from her husband, whether she is rich or poor. A husband cannot contract himself out of the statutory liability to maintain his legally married wife and children... Similarly, a father has a statutory obligation to maintain his children, whether legitimate or illegitimate, out of which he cannot contract himself. This liability continues even though the mother is divorced from the father and the children live with the mother, who is rich."

The Burmese family, as a system of well-established personal rights and social obligations, seems to have a high power of survival and adaptation. There is little evidence of its disintegration except in so far as geographical separation by migration from the countryside to towns and cities or other regions of the Irrawaddy delta may tend to loosen family ties, cohesion and the form of social insurance inherent in it.

Marriage generally takes place with the free and equal consent of adult partners and implies common ownership of property. Marriage can be ended by the partners' common consent, by desertion or court decree, and the partners can decide for themselves as to the custody of children. The public authorities do not intervene in these matters.

Ceylon

"The family provides for the maintenance of all its members, whether or not they are able to contribute anything to the common pool. This joint family system has its merits as well as its defects. It is a form of social insurance guaranteeing a mere subsistence level to all, including orphans, the disabled, the infirm, the widowed and the temporarily unemployed. It

makes possible the most economical use of the limited resources of the family, avoiding duplication of house equipment and establishment. It also averts the economic consequences of excessive subdivision and fragmentation of land arising from the laws of inheritance. The system, however, discourages individual initiative and enterprise and tends to act as a drag on economic progress."

Chile

"In the normal marriage régime, the two spouses contract certain obligations of assistance one to the other and both to the children. Under Chilean law maintenance must be provided for the spouse; legitimate descendants; legitimate ascendants; natural children and their legitimate issue; natural mothers; illegitimate children; the illegitimate mother; legitimate brothers; any person who has made a large donation, provided that it has not been rescinded or revoked. Failure to fulfil this maintenance obligation is punished by peremptory court order, fifteen days' detention or a corresponding fine, measures which may be repeated until the obligation is fulfilled. These obligations are usually respected among legally constituted families, but are far more neglected in cases of illegitimacy and desertion. Divorce in Chile consists solely in separation of bed and board and does not dissolve the marriage bond so that the maintenance obligation continues... In practice, divorce and annulment affect only the well-to-do classes... Among the poorer classes, the main cause of broken homes is desertion by the father, with its immediate consequences of penury or total destitution."

Ecuador

The Civil Code contains detailed provisions on the liability of one member of a family to pay maintenance allowances to another, the conditions of payment and the powers of the Court to make orders for payment. The more important of these provisions are as follows:

(1) "The husband shall supply the wife's needs according to his ability and the wife shall have the same obligation towards her husband if he is destitute" (Article 157).

(2) "The cost of bringing up, educating and establishing legitimate children shall be borne by the married couple" (Article 246).

(3) "Maintenance must be provided for the spouse; legitimate descendants; legitimate ascendants; illegitimate children and their legitimate issue; illegitimate parents; legitimate brothers and sisters" (Article 355).

Egypt

"Help from relatives and mutual aid within the family are social responsibilities imposed upon family members by social structure. From the legal point of view, Egyptian religious courts can enforce maintenance obligations of the needy persons or their legally responsible relatives. The sons of sufficient means are first called on to support their needy parents, then come grandsons, the father, the grandfather, brothers, brothers' sons and paternal uncles, respectively, if they are of sufficient means to contribute to the support of such needy persons."

Iran

"The family's role and responsibilities are very important, especially where, as in Iran, religious sentiments also come into play. The responsibility is

assumed as a matter of course, since the family always has the primary obligation to assist those of its members who are in need, and the assistance it gives is the prototype of all assistance to the needy; for it is a generally accepted fact that the primary responsibility within a society rests with the family and that public responsibility or the responsibilities of society as a whole is necessarily of a secondary and temporary character... By laying down general rules of conduct, religion is also a factor in family solidarity... The relationship between parents and children, and between individuals was regulated by religious doctrine before being regulated by civil law. Society, as we understand it, based on the family unit, was required to assume certain duties which were enforceable only to the extent permitted by the family's economic capacity to withstand misfortune."

Libya

"The application of Islamic law on divorce appears to result in practice in a husband who wishes to rid himself of a wife being able to do so with the minimum of formality. Although there is ostensibly an obligation upon the husband to produce evidence that his wife has been guilty of an offence, actual cases... suggest that a husband who is dissatisfied with his wife because, for instance, she has failed to bear him a male child or has become blind, can divorce her without any great difficulty. Again, although under Islamic law the husband is required to make some provision for his divorced wife, he seems to have no difficulty in evading this liability... The principle of mutual dependency of members of the same family in the widest sense seems to be accepted without question and if, for instance, a man's brother dies leaving a widow and children he will regard himself as equally responsible for them as for his own wife and children."

48. The Islamic law on inheritance, which is applicable to the Moslem countries of Egypt, Iran and Libya, is laid down in detail in the Koran. The provisions include the requirement that a male child shall receive twice the proportion of a parent's property as a female child and that a widow without children shall inherit a quarter of her husband's property; but if she has one or more children the proportion is to be limited to one eighth.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF MUTUAL AID

49. The tradition of mutual aid, which is by no means limited to the extended family, still remains a vital part of the social structure of those countries where there are strong tribal and community ties. In some countries, the tradition is based on religious principles; this applies particularly to Moslem countries where the Islamic creed actively influences the everyday lives of the people. In other countries, it is an outward sign of the basic acceptance of a common humanity and of unity within the clan or tribe in face of common danger, whether that danger is due to natural causes or to the hostility of an opposing tribe. The strength of the existing ties varies inversely with the extent to which the people have abandoned their traditional way of life for one more closely resembling that to be found in more

developed countries. In general, mutual aid is least effective in the towns, where tribal and other affiliations have ceased to have any practical significance; it is strongest among the more isolated and less-developed communities, and nowhere more so than among the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes of the Middle East and the Indian communities in the mountains and forests of Latin America. It has to be realized, however, that, in contrast to the legal obligation of family maintenance, the conception of mutual aid has no compulsory or enforcement aspect. When it breaks down, as it does increasingly under urban conditions, there is no possibility of restoring its effectiveness.

50. An important feature of mutual aid is that, while it may serve to alleviate individual distress, such as that arising from the death of a family breadwinner, it must necessarily be largely ineffective when the whole tribe or community is afflicted by a general calamity, such as the failure of the harvest, reducing all to a common state of need. Mutual aid, therefore, cannot be relied upon to provide a certain source of assistance to the needy members of an extended family or of a community. Moreover, its operation may create a problem of its own by throwing on a single breadwinner a burden which is so heavy that his efforts to provide adequate maintenance for himself and his more immediate dependants are frustrated. The varying practical significance of mutual aid in the countries with which this report is concerned is suggested by the following extracts from the various monographs:

Bolivia

"In rural areas, assistance to the needy takes place in accordance with the system practised by the indigenous communities, among which old people, widows and orphans, receive part of the product of the collective working of the land, a portion of the harvest being allocated for the maintenance of the poor of the *Ayllu* and the clan. Those who fall into indigence through idleness or failure to work with the community and persons who commit offences against its laws are expelled from the indigenous community."

Burma

"Various communities in the larger cities of Burma form their own sectional or denominational trusts, societies or associations to look after social, educational and religious needs. They come out to help their brethren in times of disaster and pool their resources with governmental effort, as happened at the time of the grave fires in Rangoon at the beginning of 1953."

Chile

"Mutual aid is in many cases carried on within families to a degree which cannot be expressed in figures; in addition, the traditional custom of sharing board and lodging with distant relatives or needy friends, who are called '*allegados*' in social studies, is widespread in homes where means are below the minimum subsistence level."

Ecuador

"In their own enterprises of considerable magnitude, such as building houses, the members of the Indian family and their neighbours co-operate in *mingas*. They also help each other by supplying materials and food for those taking part."

Iran

"Prior to any legislation laying down rules concerning the assistance to be given to those in need, the family was assisted by neighbours, local religious organizations, professional associations, employers or landowners; that was particularly true in the case of servants and domestic workers who had worked in the household for many years. But this arrangement was obviously based on custom rather than on law."

Libya

"Because of the prevailing level of poverty throughout the country... the traditional tribal customs of the richer members of the tribe providing for the poorer are less effective, particularly in years of bad harvest, when the relatively well-off find that they have insufficient food for themselves and for their own immediate family. Among the Bedouin tribes of Cyrenaica, for instance, it is the accepted rule that a family possessing 40 or more animals shall give at least one for the benefit of the poorer members of the tribe, but drought not only results in a poor harvest, it reduces, sometimes drastically, the size of the flocks. It is at these times that the weakest goes to the wall and the divorced wife, unwanted and orphan children, the blind, the aged and disabled find that they cannot turn to their relatives or members of the tribe for help and have to resort to begging."

51. The part played by mutual aid within the community is also emphasized in the *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation*:

Latin America

"Most of the highland Indians and peasant cultivators depend for social security upon custom and upon traditional institutions—the family, the community or a religious brotherhood... the community is often the land-holding unit and its traditional control over the land offers a measure of security for the community members" (pp. 145 and 146).

"Kinsmen lend each other money, supply food to one another's families over a difficult period, co-operate in work exchange, assist each other during an illness and in numerous other ways provide backing to an individual and his immediate family" (p. 146).

South and South East Asia

"But the less advanced groups do enjoy a boon which is rapidly being lost by those drawn into the realm of modern commerce and into the fringe of modern life. They enjoy the security of strongly organized communities. These do not readily permit the individual to sink into helplessness and despair" (p. 178).

52. The significance of mutual aid as it applies to the victims of blindness is referred to in the report of the British Colonial Office entitled *Blindness in British African and Middle East Territories*.¹³

"In general, it appears true that, where the system of family and group responsibilities has not been disrupted by the impact of urban civilisations or alien cultures based on different principles of communal responsibility, the blind are sure of their basic subsistence except in a time of general distress or where they alienate themselves from the group to which they belong.

"... The system is necessarily limited in scope for, whilst a man honourably discharges responsibilities to his own blind relatives, he feels no responsibility for blind people outside his group."

THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGION ON THE RELIEF OF POVERTY

53. The conception of helping one's less fortunate fellow-men through self-sacrifice is fundamental to all the principal religions of the world. In particular, it is a feature of the three religions which predominate among the nine countries under review—Islam in Egypt, Iran and Libya; Buddhism in Burma, Ceylon and Japan; and Christianity (mainly in the form of Roman Catholicism) in Bolivia, Chile and Ecuador. It is very often difficult to distinguish between traditional customs and the practical application of religious precepts, especially where, as in Moslem countries, religion is not only a way of life but an integral part of the governmental structure. In the case of Latin America, the religion of the European settler has been accepted by the indigenous population, but it seems probable that, in respect of help within their own communities, traditional customs play a bigger part than religious precepts. On the other hand, the number of religious societies in the Latin American countries which concern themselves with the relief of various forms of human distress, irrespective of race or colour, is an indication of the part played by Christianity in the relations between the more prosperous white communities and the indigenous population. Christian missionaries have, of course, for many years been concerned to meet a variety of human needs in the less-developed countries of the world.

54. Details of the activities of particular religious organizations and institutions in the provision of assistance to the needy are discussed later in this report, but it is appropriate to mention at this point the influence of Buddhism and Islam on the general attitude of the adherents to these two creeds towards the affording of help to their poorer co-religionists. The following extract from the monograph on Burma illustrates the approach of the Buddhist creed, as it applies in that country, to the question of giving help to the needy:

"The traditional Burmese, or rather the Buddhist, system of giving help is too simple to cope with the needs of modern society. Although the digging

¹³ London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1948; paras. 27 and 28.

of wells for public use and the feeding of the poor are considered commendable, the giving of gifts of money or in kind to priests and the building of pagodas are regarded as the best ways of gaining merit which will be credited towards the giver's next existence. Hence, there have not been many hospitals or institutions for disabled persons opened by charity. Most of them are set up by the Government, and some of them by Christian missions. Burmese people are not familiar with social service or social work on a scale larger than that of their own village and, in any case, they do not consider that kind of giving as meritorious as gifts towards religion."

55. As regards the Islamic creed, almsgiving plays such a prominent part that it is one of the "Five Pillars" of that religion. The specific obligation to give to the poor is mentioned frequently in the Koran and in the sayings of the Prophet Mohammed. One such saying is of special significance as indicating the underlying conception of Moslem almsgiving: "His alms are vain who does not know that his need of the reward for giving is greater than the poor man's need of the gift." There is necessarily some variation as between one Moslem country and another in the extent to which the almsgiving precepts of the Islamic creed are observed in practice, as shown in the extracts from the pertinent monographs set forth below.

Egypt

"Generally speaking with regard to mutual help and assisting the needy, the prevailing spirit of social welfare in the Egyptian society is the Islamic tradition which is definite and specific in emphasizing the meaning of assistance and how it should be given and organized to serve the special needs of the orphans, the destitute, the needy relatives and the like. Almsgiving and helping the poor is prescribed in Islam, sometimes to serve as a substitute for a religious duty which the person could not fulfil for some reason. Alms in Islam are of two kinds, legal (*zakat*) and voluntary (*sadakah*), although this distinction is not always observed in practice at the present time. The *zakat* (meaning purification, i.e. of wealth and soul) is a fixed proportion of one's capital and crops which is to be paid annually into the treasury for the good of the poor. *Zakat* as an official injunction was previously applied in Egypt and other Islamic countries, but at present it is left, together with the practice of benevolence in general, to the individuals who give according to their personal generosity and piety. However, a strong spirit of helping the needy could be more readily observed at present in rural Egypt than in urban areas."

The *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation* contains the following reference (p. 161) to the operation of *zakat* in Egypt:

"The first recipients of this charity are, as a rule, poor relatives, though strangers should also be considered. The extent to which almsgiving actually helps poor households can be gauged from the fact that a sample group of poor Egyptian rural families (with an annual income up to £ E 25) was found to derive 10 per cent of its income from relatives, and more than 6 per cent from private persons or charitable societies. The urban poor in Cairo and

Alexandria (family income under £ E 60 a year) derived 13 per cent of the income from relatives and 3 per cent from private persons or charitable institutions. Since these donations are prescribed by religious law, they are not regarded as voluntary charity, but rather as an obligatory tax."

Iran

"An important social factor in Iran is the religious spirit of the population. The religious commandments which are recorded in the Koran and which are collectively termed the Koranic Law were the principal source of the legislation at present in force. It was only a few decades ago that a Civil Code on the European model was introduced in Iran. Religious precepts, handed down from generation to generation and hence firmly rooted in every stratum of the population, today constitute the guiding principles for the daily activities of the entire population. Even a cursory study of the Islamic faith reveals that it has always laid special stress on assistance to the needy and on the practice of charity... A humanitarian concept of mutual aid and neighbourly love is the mainspring of the religion and has inspired a series of rules regarding methods of assisting the needy, which have thus developed into traditional practices. It is through these traditional and individual practices that a large part of assistance to the needy is still provided today."

Libya

"Although it is intended that the funds at the disposal of the Moslem Relief Committees¹⁴ should include gifts made by richer members of the community in accordance with the almsgiving precepts of the Koran, the income from this source does not, in fact, appear to be very large... It is not to be inferred from this that the precepts are ignored, for it is known that some of the few rich Libyans who are able to do so prefer to give alms in a more personal way, for example, by making gifts of clothing to their poorer relatives on the occasion of Moslem feasts or by responding to the appeal of the ubiquitous, but not always destitute, beggar."

EDUCATION AND ILLITERACY

56. Progress in the educational field is probably the most important index to the social development of any nation. The effects of the dissipation of ignorance are not limited to improvement in cultural standards, but have such far-reaching consequences as a better understanding of the need for good habits of personal hygiene, the importance of sanitation and the proper utilization of indigenous foodstuffs. Appendix I of this report, showing the estimated proportion of illiterates and children attending school in each of the nine countries, has been compiled from statements contained in the various country monographs, supplemented by information available to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). It will be noted that, in a number of countries, there are marked variations in the degree of illiteracy as between men and women. The significance of a low

¹⁴ See para 101 *be*

rate of literacy among women—usually ascribable to religious or traditional customs requiring the seclusion of women and girls—is that the educational standard of a mother cannot fail to have a considerable effect upon the health and general well-being of her children.

57. From the economic standpoint, education is essential to a higher standard of production through a more enlightened utilization of natural resources and the ability to participate in vocational and technical training. But the social and economic effects of the growth of education are inevitably slow to come to fruition. Many less-developed countries have now reached a turning point in the educational position, with the majority of the adult population still illiterate, but with a high and increasing proportion of children of both sexes attending school. These countries are thus experiencing all the social and economic consequences of a period of transition—consequences which inevitably have their impact on the particular problems of the incidence of need and the administration of schemes of assistance. In the first place, there is the fundamental interrelation between poverty and ignorance; other things being equal and in normal circumstances, the more widespread the influence of education the smaller the proportion of people who are likely to be in need. Secondly, any system of administration which entails the ascertaining and recording of the circumstances of individual families continues to labour under a severe handicap so long as the persons with whom it is concerned are unable to read or write; there may also be the difficulty of finding an adequate number of persons who are sufficiently well educated to participate in the administration. Thirdly, in so far as children are in need with respect of food or clothing, their attendance at school is a means of bringing this need to light and facilitates arrangements for dealing with it.

NEED ARISING FROM LACK OF PROVISION FOR THE FUTURE

58. Habits of thrift and of providing for foreseeable and unforeseeable contingencies such as old age, sickness and bad harvests are not easily acquired by people accustomed to a primitive way of life and who live from day to day without much thought for the future. The question of making provisions for the long-term future (as distinct from the period between harvests) is, of course, not a real one where, as is all too frequently the case, the current means of livelihood are inadequate to maintain anything approaching a satisfactory level of living. Nevertheless, it is characteristic of many of the peoples of less-developed territories that, when opportunities of increasing their income do arise, such as acquiring more cash wages by working longer hours, they seem to lack any incentive to earn more than is sufficient to satisfy their day-to-day needs at the level to which they have been accustomed. Ordinarily, a peasant in a less-developed country has very limited facilities for “banking” any

savings, but in those countries where the co-operative system has been introduced, the equivalent of banking facilities is available. As regards Moslem countries, while the payment of interest is contrary to Islamic precepts and tradition, present practice does not always accord with this prohibition, which is seldom written into the secular laws of the country concerned. It thus does not account for any lack of banking facilities in the Moslem countries.

59. The lack of provision for the future, whether voluntary or involuntary, is manifested as a cause of need in several ways. One example is afforded by the peasants of the Fezzan province of Libya who, not infrequently, consume grain which has been set aside as seed for the following year. It must be recognized, however, that in this instance that which on the face of it, appears to be improvidence may in fact be largely due to the pressure of starvation. A state of affairs which has more far-reaching social and economic consequences is the position of the tenant farmers in Latin America, the Middle East and Asia who find themselves with no option but to get into debt to their landlords, thereby increasing the hold of the landowner over their own and their children's labour, as well as mortgaging their future harvests.

60. Lack of provision for the future in the sense of unwise expenditure of income is to be found in the Latin American countries, where excessive indulgence in alcohol and, to a lesser extent, the chewing of the coca leaf, is widespread among the indigenous population. It forms a special feature of the *fiestas* which occur with great frequency and, apart from the health aspect, has very harmful effects on the social and economic conditions in the countries concerned. The report of the United Nations Mission for Technical Assistance to Bolivia refers (pp. 91 and 92) to this subject in the following terms:

"The fiesta imposes a heavy burden upon the ordinary family budget. One hears of expenditure on a single fiesta amounting to as much as 20,000 or 30,000 bolivianos. The funds are obtained by such means as dishoarding of savings, sale of land, lump payments on the retirement of workers from the mines or by running into debt. But, even if expenditures of the magnitude just mentioned are exceptions, a more modest, but more regular expenditure is, in the long run, hardly less serious. Glen E. Leonard in his study 'Santa Cruz: a Social-Economic Study of an area in Bolivia' writes: 'It is no exaggeration to say that enough money is spent on such festivals and fiestas by the majority of these families in ten years to buy sufficient land and equipment to guarantee the family a secure and comfortable existence. So important do the people consider these festivals that it is not uncommon for them to sell their last head of livestock to obtain needed money to participate... In Chulpass¹⁵ the average expenditure on food per family per year (1948) was 4,318 bolivianos. The expenditure on alcoholic beverages, mainly chicha, largely consumed on the occasion of fiestas, amounted to 1,250 boli-

¹⁵ Canton Chulpass in the Cochabamba Valley of Bolivia.

vianos or to about 30 per cent of the cost of food... Considering the fiesta and the coca chewing habit in conjunction, it is obvious that they constitute a serious drain upon the family budget of large sectors of the Bolivian population. It seems clear that the shortcomings in the essential standards of living cannot be attributed only to the low level of wages and income, but also to a misuse of existing resources.”

61. An equally disturbing state of affairs to that existing in Bolivia is revealed by the following references in the International Labour Office publication *Indigenous Peoples* (p. 157) to conditions in Ecuador:

“Another Ecuadorean expert on indigenous matters who is also a doctor writes as follows regarding alcoholism in Ecuador:

“‘Alcoholism is a habitual vice among the Indians and one of their most dangerous addictions, having extremely serious biological, economic and social results... Religious festivals, family gatherings, Saturday and Sunday amusements, harvest festivals, housebuilding, work on paths and roads, marriages, burials, wakes, etc., have no meaning or purpose for the Indian unless accompanied by plentiful draughts of *aguardiente*.’

“A study of the peasants in the province of Pichincha points out that ‘a part of the Indians’ minute income is spent on alcoholic drinks and, worse yet, the bulk of a whole year’s savings may be spent on a single fiesta’. More serious still, according to Anibal Buitrón, is the fact that when the peasant runs out of the money he has brought to the village to spend, the liquor vendor offers him more *aguardiente* in exchange for his animals and produce, or extends him credit... ‘As a result, the peasants live in poverty and permanent debt.’”

62. Although the consequences of the *fiesta* are to be deplored, it is only right to point out that, in those less-developed countries where they take place, they more often than not represent the only opportunity for recreation and enjoyment.

63. The equivalent of expenditure on *fiestas* in Latin America is to be found in a variety of popular ceremonial occasions in Burma, including the initiation rites for boys, ear-piercing for girls and the cremation of especially revered monks. An example of expenditure for personal (but harmful) pleasure and related to the question of lack of provision for the future is afforded by the consumption of hashish in Egypt, a habit which, fortunately, is on the decline.

64. Leaving aside such important questions as practicability, appropriateness and the existence of adequate financial resources, the foregoing references indicate the precautions that would be necessary in any attempt to meet need among the more primitive and uneducated people by any system of allowances in cash.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDEREMPLOYMENT

65. The consequences of unemployment represent one of the major social and economic problems of modern industrialized coun-

ries and particularly so in times of general or local depression. Even in these countries, a precise statistical measure of the volume and nature of the unemployment at any one time is difficult of achievement because of such factors as concealed and partial unemployment. In the less-developed countries where, if there is any registration of the unemployed at all it is limited to the larger towns, it is much more difficult to assess the true position. Furthermore, the great majority of the working population in most of the less-developed countries do not work for an employer on a wage basis, but as small independent farmers, peasants or home workers. Underemployment, rather than unemployment, is a major economic characteristic of the rural population of less-developed territories and this is especially so in countries where, as in Japan and Egypt, there is pressure on the land and the individual peasant is only partially occupied because of the restricted size of the plot available to him. Seasonal and cyclical factors necessarily have a bearing on the situation; in some countries there are long periods when it is impracticable for any agricultural work to be done. It is one of the anomalous and disturbing features of the peasant tradition that, although the head of the household may not be fully employed on the family holding, children are nevertheless frequently withheld or withdrawn from attendance at school in order to help on the holding. Reference is made in chapter IX of this report to the development of traditional handicrafts and home industries as providing some solution to the problem of underemployment both as regards the demoralizing effect of inactivity and as a means of removing need by supplementing the income in cash or in kind derived from agriculture.

66. There appears to be considerable variation in the unemployment and underemployment situation in the countries which have been the subject of special study:

Bolivia

There is stated to be a shortage of manpower in some branches of industry and of skilled labour in both industry and agriculture. With reference to the labour situation, the report of the United Nations Technical Assistance Mission to Bolivia contains (p. 94) the following statement:

"Of the 45,000 manual workers employed in the mines, a considerable number—perhaps about one third—are seasonal workers. This proportion appears to be diminishing. These seasonal workers are employed in the mines for some months at a time, returning to their farms at seasons of the year when farming activities are most intense."

The information and comments set forth below are drawn from the various monographs on some of the other countries with which the present report is concerned.

Burma

"The labour force is, in general, not effectively utilized and there is a considerable amount of unemployment—total, part-time and seasonal. Many people are in posts which do not fully occupy their energies, such as office

peons, petty traders etc... labour is not being utilized to its full maximum potential. Since Burma is predominantly an agricultural economy, with roughly two-thirds of the workers normally occupied in agriculture, there is much seasonal unemployment. At these times there is a great waste of manpower, for the workers then have no other work to turn to other than miscellaneous and temporary casual jobs with minor earnings."

The Ministry of Finance and Revenue of Burma, in a report entitled *Economic Survey of Burma*, 1952, stated that "one-third of the labour force, or the equivalent of 2.75 million workers, are unutilized as compared with pre-war".

Chile

"The temporarily unemployed account for 3.8 per cent of the active population; the figure rises at certain periods as a result of a shortage of imported raw materials or the partial close-down of copper mines or nitrate beds."

Ceylon

"Employment opportunities remain at a satisfactory level when export commodities fetch reasonable prices. When prices decline there is a retrenchment of surplus labour employed on large estates. As most of the manufacturing concerns are dependent on the export products, the fall in prices of these commodities also affects the employment in these establishments. The total number of unemployed on the register of the Employment Exchange in the Island at the end of 1952 was 52,023... these figures, however, may not present a correct picture of the state of unemployment in the country as a good number who have registered for employment may have done so with the object of finding better employment. Besides, the problem is not one of unemployment, but of underemployment among agricultural workers."

Egypt

"There is a surplus of rural population of about five to six million. However, there is a surplus of the labour market in general."

Libya

"Whilst it cannot be said that there is any widespread unemployment... as the expression is usually understood, there is no doubt a good deal of underemployment, due in part to the traditional habits and customs of the country. If, for instance, one asks why at certain seasons of the year a large number of men in a rural centre appear to be idle, the suggestion that they are unemployed would be indignantly refuted and it would be pointed out that they are waiting for the dates to ripen. At times when it is said that there is a large amount of unemployment in the country, the usual explanation is that owing to the tragically frequent recurrence of drought the grain harvest has completely failed and the herds of animals have been drastically reduced, with the result that the breadwinner is forced to do what he can to obtain the necessities of life in some other way, although he may be no more 'unemployed' in the normal sense than in any other year. This condition is characteristic of the Bedouin of Cyrenaica who are ready to make themselves available for road construction and similar work in times of drought."

67. It will be observed from the foregoing references that, although underemployment is a common characteristic of a number

of the countries concerned, the underlying causes of this phenomenon (and, therefore, the possible solutions to it) are by no means the same. Seasonal factors are, for instance, predominant in Burma and Libya, problems of over-population in Egypt and external factors in the form of changes in world trade bear upon the situation in Chile and Ceylon.

HOUSING AND RENTS

68. The basic requirements for the maintenance of man's life are usually referred to as food, shelter and clothing. The term "shelter" in the more developed countries where a large, if not the greater, proportion of the population live under urban conditions implies a permanent structure of brick or stone with ancillary services such as water supply, sanitation, heating and lighting installations. In such countries the provision of shelter generally entails payment of rent for a dwelling house and this liability is not only recognized as one of the first charges on the financial resources of the individual or family, but, apart from food, it frequently represents the biggest single charge on those resources. This factor applies not only to the so-called middle classes; it is of no less significance to the poorest section of the community who, whether they are housed in the slums which exist in parts of most of the big cities of the world or in more modern dwellings, find that the need to make regular payments of rent in order to maintain a roof over their heads is one of their biggest financial concerns.

69. Although the peasant in a less-developed country who is a tenant farmer is faced with the need to pay rent in one form or another for the piece of land which represents his means of livelihood, it is very rarely that he finds the need to pay a house rent as such, since the crude structure which, in many cases, constitutes his home has usually been erected by himself or his ancestors from local unprocessed materials and has little intrinsic value. This is exemplified by inquiries made in Egypt in connexion with the preliminary planning of a scheme of social security which revealed that only about one family in twenty-five paid house rent. Climatic conditions and the general environment necessarily play an important part in the use of makeshift structures as homes in the rural districts as well as in the periphery town areas. The absence of any liability for the rent of the home applies very largely to the structures which go to make up the "shanty towns" on the outskirts of some of the capital and provincial cities.¹⁶ On the other hand, the house rent factor is one which may loom large in the budget of a family living in the centre of cities such as Tokyo, Cairo or Santiago. In this respect, as in so many others, there is a very wide gap between rural and urban conditions in the same country.

¹⁶ For further discussion of this subject, see para. 36 above.

70. The following general description¹⁷ of rural housing given in the *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation* (p. 59) is indicative of the general situation:

"The great majority of the population in most of the less-developed countries are rural villagers, living in houses built by themselves according to traditional pattern and from materials locally available without cost, such as mud bricks (adobe) or bamboo with roof of thatch. The relative habitability of such dwellings varies from region to region and from family to family. Many of them are one-roomed hovels where ventilation and light are inadequate, floors are dirty or muddy, roofs are low, dirty and inflammable... The lack of sanitation is almost always dangerous. The water supply is inconvenient and frequently contaminated. Rodents and insects infest the huts."

71. Some light on the varying housing conditions in the nine countries is thrown by the following references:

Bolivia

The International Labour Office publication *Indigenous Peoples* quotes (p. 108) the following description of the housing conditions of mine-workers in Bolivia in 1941:

"When it is not a wretched rustic hut, through the half ruined walls of which the cold and wind of the high plateau can freely pass, the dwelling is one without windows or any other means of ventilation; it has no floor, electric light, drinking water, beds or sanitation of any kind. In most of the houses the worker has a single room which serves as bedroom, dining room, kitchen, sitting room and stable alike... In this room, littered with all manner of articles and rubbish, live the worker, his wife and children, not to mention the domestic animals. Often one and the same room is used by two or more families."

It must be emphasized that this detailed description refers to conditions obtaining more than a decade ago. It is understood that, whilst there has been little change as far as the workers in the small and privately owned mines are concerned, housing programmes associated with the larger nationalized mines are leading to a considerable improvement.

Chile

The following description is drawn from the relevant monograph:

"The deficiency in housing amounted to approximately 500,000 in 1952--surveys already made show that far too many persons are living in the same room... and that workers' housing conditions in rural, mining and urban areas are very bad. It is calculated that two million people (i.e. approximately one third of the total population) are inadequately housed. This problem has led to makeshift settlements known as 'poblaciones callampas' (implying that they have sprung up like mushrooms) which are composed of huts made of mud, timber or sheets of tin, without water or drainage... the insanitary

¹⁷ Quoted from the report entitled *Low Cost Housing in South and South-East Asia*, United Nations, document ST/SOA/3/Rev.1.

housing problem usually goes hand in hand with unemployment of the father, undernourishment, alcoholism, lack of clothing, neglected children, desertion, ignorance and other factors."

Burma

The monograph on that country notes that:

"The general standard of living, especially in the rural areas, is extremely low. The climatic conditions favour this low standard. It is either hot or rainy and hence, for living quarters, a roof (made of bamboo thatch) and a wall on the rainy side are enough for the people of the lowest grade."

Ceylon

The housing conditions of the three aboriginal groups in Ceylon are referred to in *Indigenous Peoples* (p. 118) as follows:

"The Vedda of Ceylon, having abandoned their earlier rock shelters, live in huts made of bark and sticks, covered with grass. Those on the coast of the island live in *cadjan* huts or sheds built on the bare sand. A few families living on Crown settlements have more suitable housing. The Rodiyas live in well-defined villages of one-room huts made of interlaced twigs and strips of palm wood covered with a mud plaster, with a verandah in front. Finally, the Kinnarayas have clean and well-kept houses."

The total population represented by these groups is, however, not more than about 6,000 and the description of the crude housing conditions of the Vedda and the Rodiyas has no application to the general population of the island. The great majority of the people of Ceylon live in stone-built and tile-roofed houses or, in rural areas, houses constructed of wattle and daub.

Ecuador

The relevant monograph contains the following description of the housing conditions of a representative family in each of the three main ethnic groups:

White family "Living in San Roque district of the capital city of Quito. Lighting, drinking water and poor plumbing as in the rest of the neighbourhood. Not very clean. Very crowded. Shops and schools nearby. Two rooms and kitchen. Electric light and drinking water. The rooms are dark and comparatively damp."

It may be noted that the monthly rent of 60 sucres represents 18 per cent of the family's budget.

Indian family "Rural environment; sparsely populated. Hygienic and sanitary conditions satisfactory... Own house, together with a plot of land 2,500 square metres in area. Earth-walled construction, tiled roof, no ceiling (vaulted). Floor area 24 square metres, height 2.5 metres. The dwelling consists of one room, a corridor and a kitchen. It has only one entrance, little light, but adequate ventilation. Damp surroundings. This dwelling is the communal home and provides space for a workshop, storeroom and domestic animals. The corridor serves as a dining room, but there are neither tables nor chairs. Water from a nearby river is used for all domestic needs and for the personal toilet. Cooking is done on three large stoves set up on the earth floor."

Negro family "A house, or rather hut, with walls of reed grass and earth. Straw roof. Occupies an area of 20 square metres, height 2.5 metres. Consists of one room serving as bedroom and living room, a kitchen and a corridor."

Egypt and Iran

The (following) description in the *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation* (p. 151) under the heading "The Middle Eastern Village" is applicable to both countries:

"The bulk of the agricultural population lives in dire poverty and in extremely insanitary conditions. Most of the villages are tightly packed conglomerations of buildings with no sewage system...

"The peasant family lives in a single one—or two—room house built of raw materials available in the district (stone, mud, reeds, etc.) The need for heating facilities is felt chiefly in the more northerly latitudes and above a certain elevation; but fuel supplies are scarce and expensive."

Japan

The monthly expenditure of a representative "average citizen" in Tokyo is stated to include an item of 1,119 yen for housing out of a total of 18,835 yen.

The rent element in the household budget of such a family is thus of the order of 6 per cent.

Libya

"Outside the towns, the dwelling place consists either of a camel-hair tent (characteristic of the nomads), a hut (*zriba*) made from the trunk and leaves of the date palm, a crude stone structure (*hoosh*) or in the mountainous ranges—the Gebel—of Tripolitania, an underground cave. Whichever of the four kinds of dwelling is used, the need to pay rent does not arise."

HEALTH AND NUTRITION

72. One of the most disturbing features of nearly all less-developed territories is the widespread incidence of ill health and a variety of endemic diseases; this is reflected in poor general physique and high mortality rates, particularly among very young children. Although, as the result of the activities of the World Health Organization and of the initiative of individual Governments, great strides have been made in recent years (as instanced by the eradication of malaria in Ceylon), the overall position continues to be a very sombre one, largely because of the world shortage of qualified doctors. The *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation* records (p. 33) that "In global terms, there is an immediate need for twice the 900,000 doctors who are now preponderantly in the advanced countries. The scarcity of nurses and other auxiliaries is even greater." As in so many other respects, it is the rural inhabitants who are at the greatest disadvantage. One reason for this is that, even in those of the less-developed territories where there is a reasonable number of doctors in relation to the total population, they are largely concentrated in the towns—thus, in 1953, one third of the doctors

employed by the Ministry of Health of Bolivia were working in La Paz. Other contributory causes are the cruder housing conditions and the accompanying lack of sanitation, coupled with greater ignorance of ordinary everyday precautions against mass disease arising from the more limited educational facilities in the rural districts. It is not surprising, therefore, that efforts to provide some form of medical assistance—discussed later in this report—are being made even in those predominantly rural countries where there has, as yet, been little or no attempt to provide maintenance assistance for the needy. It is true to say that one of the greatest needs of the people in the rural areas of less-developed territories is an adequate medical service; while mutual aid within the extended family or tribe provides some solution for normal maintenance needs, it cannot help where the need is of a medical nature, if there are no facilities available in the locality.

73. Of all the conditions which militate against the health of the people of less-developed territories, the lack of adequate and suitable food is undoubtedly the most serious. In many of these countries, the majority of the population are, in normal times, in a state of malnutrition; when times are bad, many are reduced to a condition of semi-starvation and an abnormal shortage of food due to failure of the crops or any other reason gives rise to actual starvation and death. Not only is the normal diet deficient in terms of calories; it is frequently unbalanced and lacking in proteins, minerals and vitamins, resulting in a lack of resistance to disease as well as insufficient reserves of energy. The diet is largely determined by the crops which the peasant is able to grow in the prevailing conditions of soil and climate and with the crude implements available to him. His lack of education is reflected both in his agricultural methods and in his manner of utilizing the food which he produces. However, in many countries, wild herbs and other indigenous plants with valuable vitamin content provide a useful supplement to the food which the peasant is able to grow. The jungles of Burma, where the variety of edible wild berries is very extensive, are an important example.

74. Figures contained in the *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation* (pp. 42 and 43) show that in Ceylon, Japan and Chile, the calorific value of the prevailing level of diets was 10 per cent or more below estimated requirements and that in Japan, Egypt and Chile, 75 per cent or more of the calory intake was derived from cereals, starchy roots and sugar. The following information is drawn from the various country monographs:

Burma

“For their food, these people can grow some vegetables in their backyards and they can fish in the rivers. They seem, more or less, to be able to feed themselves to the full, if not very nutritiously.”

Bolivia

"Fifty per cent of the foodstuffs consumed, such as potatoes, greens, tubers and fruit, come from the land. Milk, eggs, meat and fatty or proteinous foodstuffs are in short supply."

The International Labour Office in *Indigenous Peoples* refers (p. 92) to a report, made in 1941, on the diet of a Bolivian miner's family, which stated that, in the great majority of cases, the diet fell short of the minimum required to maintain life, let alone work. The report also pointed out that, at that time, the consumption of fresh fruit, legumes, green vegetables and salads was practically nil.

As noted above (para. 71), there has been a considerable change in conditions in Bolivia in the course of the past decade or more.

Ecuador

White family (urban) "Badly planned diet owing to ignorance of nutritional values. They live almost exclusively on starchy foods."

Indian family (rural) "Family live on products from own lands—maize, barley, legumes, ocas, millocos and, in addition, consumes other vegetables gathered on banks of nearby rivers and springs. Two meals only a day. Each meal invariably consists of a single course. The family consumes neither milk nor meat."

Negro family (small settlement) "Consume kidney beans, sweet potatoes and yucca grown on allotment. Normally two meals only a day. Rice and yucca are eaten every day. They have very little variety in their food and are ignorant of the nutritional value of the various food-stuffs."

Japan

"The chief crop is rice, which is the chief food of the people... The Japanese eat much more fish than meat... according to a report of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, the provision of a minimum daily diet of 2,160 calories and 70 grams of protein would require that 213 million tons of brown rice equivalents, including 23 million tons of protein be imported for consumption annually."

Libya

References in the monograph indicate that there is a good deal of under-nutrition throughout the country. The position is particularly unsatisfactory in the Fezzan, where locally-grown dates constitute an important part of the staple diet.

CLOTHING NEEDS IN RELATION TO CLIMATIC CONDITIONS

75. The provision and replacement of clothing is not prominent among the needs of the peoples of the less-developed countries. Even in the towns, traditional customs of dress do not entail an extensive wardrobe, and in the rural districts, the minimum of clothing consistent with climatic conditions and traditional customs is worn. In many less-developed territories, the climate is tropical or sub-tropical and only in the more mountainous regions (such as

the Andean plateau of South America or the more northerly parts of Iran) does the severity of the climate during certain seasons of the year necessitate the wearing of additional clothing in the interests of comfort and health. Such clothing as is worn by the peasant community is usually obtained by traditional methods of treating the skins of animals and the weaving of wool, camel hair and the like. Footwear is frequently not used at all, but where it is, it usually takes the form of a crude type of sandal. The various country monographs make the following references to the situation with regard to clothing:

Burma

"As the climate is kind throughout the year, in the simple social conditions of the rural areas the children need no clothes at all and men and women just need a piece of cloth to wrap around themselves as their work-a-day clothes."

It is necessary to add, however, that in the hill and frontier areas of Burma the winter is severe and the children in particular require good warm clothing. The lack of suitable clothing in these areas gives rise to ill-health and inability to resist disease, with a consequent high mortality rate.

Ecuador

White family (urban) A statement of monthly expenditure shows none at all on clothing and only six sucres (out of a total of 588 sucres) on footwear for a family of 2 adults and 3 children.

Indian family (rural) Weekly expenditure does not include any item for clothing or footwear; ponchos (woollen cloaks with a slit in the middle) which are used as part of the bedding at night, are used as clothing during the day.

Japan

The average monthly expenditure on clothing of an "average citizen" of Tokyo is stated to be as high as 3,590 yen out of a total income of 18,835 yen—or some 19 per cent.

Libya

"The clothing of men and women alike consists mainly of the blanket-like *barracan*, which is not usually replaced more often than once a year; similarly, the children very often have nothing more than a single cotton shirt which is also made to last twelve months."

THE EFFECT OF WAR AND POST-WAR CONDITIONS

76. Three of the nine selected countries—Burma, Japan and Libya—were the scene of fighting or destruction from the air in the Second World War, with all the consequences of those conditions; in addition, Ceylon, as a member of the British Commonwealth, contributed men and materials to the war effort. Iran, Egypt and the three Latin American countries were affected to a lesser extent. However, other problems have arisen in Bolivia as a result of successive revolutions and the war with Paraguay (1932-35). Burma

has continued to be confronted with internal strife and its consequences since the end of the Second World War. In nearly all the countries under consideration, social progress and plans for the improvement of the plight of those in greatest need were held up by the uncertainty engendered by the war; similarly, post-war economic and political instability in many countries retarded the development of social welfare plans. In those less-developed countries directly affected by belligerent action, special problems of need arose. Homes and industrial undertakings were destroyed; breadwinners were killed, leaving behind dependants; other breadwinners were so seriously maimed that they are either unable to do any work at all or their capacity, in some cases after a long period of treatment and rehabilitation, has been severely restricted. The less obvious, but more far-reaching results of war include the loosening of family and community ties as the result of enforced separation or the transfer from rural to industrial occupations consequent upon the demand for munitions and other industrial products.

NATIONAL CALAMITIES

77. Partly because of the extremes of climatic conditions and of unusual geological or geographical features, and partly because of the lack of technological progress in preventive and remedial measures, the less-developed countries are frequently the scenes of large-scale and sometimes nation-wide disasters in the form of epidemics, droughts, floods, earthquakes and fires, the last-named being much more serious where congested and flimsy homes prevail. As recently as 1953, Rangoon experienced a disastrous fire which rendered tens of thousands of people homeless. Japan is subject to severe earthquake shocks every few years; drought is an ever-present threat to the lives of the people of Libya and both that country and Egypt are vulnerable to plagues of locusts. The countries of Latin America are susceptible, in varying degrees, to floods, droughts and earthquakes, with all that these disasters entail. In 1949, Ecuador suffered a severe earthquake resulting in the death of 6,000 people and rendering some 100,000 homeless. Natural disasters of all kinds inevitably create special and serious problems of need among large sections of the community. These problems not only relate to sudden and urgent need for the essentials of life, but they also extend to the long-term needs of those who have been deprived of their homes and means of livelihood and who may be obliged to start life afresh in entirely new surroundings. It is in conditions of this kind that the strain on mutual aid within the family or the community is intolerable and the resources of unofficial organizations are insufficient—as, indeed, may be those of the government itself in the absence of help from other countries or from international organizations.

AN ERA OF TRANSITION

78. It may be concluded that in all nine countries with which this report is concerned, the social and economic life of the people is in a state of transition, due to a variety of internal and external influences. At one extreme, Japan, where universal education has been in force for more than a generation, represents a country where the transitional process largely takes the form of recovery from the devastating effects of the Second World War; but in the majority of the other countries (of which Libya is an example at the other extreme) the transitional state is due to worldwide developments, coupled with the desire on the part of governments and people alike that those who have hitherto lived in depressed conditions shall in future be enabled to live a full and healthier life.

79. The spread of education, improved health services, better transport and communication facilities and increased industrialization (with the consequent tendency for more and more people to exchange an urban life for a rural one) are both the causes and effects of the transitional stages through which so many less-developed countries are passing. While those who, of necessity or by inclination, continue to follow the rural way of life are less susceptible to the transitional processes, steps taken by Governments in the all-important field of agrarian reform must inevitably, if gradually, lead to vital changes in the economic and social pattern of rural communities.

80. Of all the sociological changes which are a feature of the transitional state, the weakening of ties within the extended family and the tribal community, leading to a decline in the tradition of mutual aid, are of special significance. This decline, accompanied by the knowledge of social security developments in many western industrialized countries since the end of the war, has created a demand that Governments accept an increasing responsibility for the provision of income maintenance schemes.

81. It is against this background of transition, with age-long customs and traditions continuing side-by-side in countries where the way of life of many people, even if they represent a small proportion of the total population, differs little from that of the most economically advanced countries, that the social, political and administrative aspects of the provision of assistance to the needy have to be considered.

Chapter II

SUMMARY OF EXISTING SCHEMES OF ASSISTANCE

THE GENERAL POSITION

82. At the outset, it must be made clear that, of the nine countries with which this report is concerned, only Ceylon, Egypt and Japan have anything approaching a "public" scheme which entitles a person in need, irrespective of the part of the country in which he lives, to seek and to receive continuing assistance in cash or kind for himself and any dependants. Even in these three countries there are varied and important limitations in the scope of the schemes in relation to the categories of needy persons who are covered and the extent to which need is met in the individual case. Moreover, in all three instances, the efficacy of the schemes appears to be severely handicapped by the restricted financial resources available. It would be wrong to suggest that none of the other six countries has made any provision at all for assistance to the needy; indeed, in some, there is specific legislation on the subject, but in practice the provision under such legislation appears to be so limited as to be almost negligible. In more than one country, action, except on the occurrence of a national disaster, is left entirely to non-governmental organizations, with or without financial aid from governmental sources. Such assistance as is afforded in these six countries frequently takes one of the following forms: (a) single non-recurring grants in cash or kind to meet a particular contingency; (b) the provision of accommodation for orphans and other homeless persons; or (c) medical attention. In some cases, provision of assistance in any form is confined to the residents of the larger cities.

83. Details given later in this report provide some indication of the miscellaneous and, to some extent, unco-ordinated schemes which exist in the six countries in question and of the difficulty of presenting a balanced picture of the overall situation, but the extracts from the country monographs set forth below serve to emphasize the lack of any comprehensive scheme.

Bolivia

"In fact, no continuing financial assistance is given and most permanent grants are in recognition of services rendered during the war (the Chaco War with Paraguay, 1932-35) or the revolution... Persons not covered by social security or by the Veterans' Welfare Department must appeal to private charitable institutions or beg."

It is understood that the latter reference is to those destitute persons (including the aged and the severely disabled) who are not entitled to social insurance benefits. Comparatively few beggars are, in fact, to be seen in the streets.

The report of the United Nations Mission of Technical Assistance to Bolivia records (p. 109) the conclusion that "No provision for public poor relief has been made or is in immediate prospect."

Burma

"The Government does not give any direct contributions to widows, orphans, aged, disabled persons, chronically ill, unemployed, large families and other similar categories... The only direct assistance given by the Government in money or in kind is to people who have suffered from disasters such as fires, earthquakes etc., and, to a certain extent, to refugees from insurgent areas of the country."

It should be recorded here, however, that in recent years the Government has begun to make substantial grants to voluntary organizations concerned with the care of those in need.

Chile

"Assistance proper, by which is meant the giving of assistance in money or in kind, plays a much smaller part in the general welfare structure of the country than what may be called preventive assistance, as expressed in social legislation and the agencies connected therewith... there is no scheme for permanent or periodic aid in money or kind to needy persons."

Ecuador

"It may be concluded that modern principles and practice regarding assistance to the needy have not yet reached official circles."

On the other hand there is, within the Ministry of Social Welfare, the *Asistencia Pública* (public assistance service), the functions of which are governed by the Public Assistance Decree (No. 1329) of 1950. However, it appears from the terms of this Decree that the service in question is limited almost exclusively to medical assistance, such as the provision of free home medical service and free consultation at clinics and hospitals.

Iran

"Iran does not, up to the present, possess any true assistance law in the sense in which the term is used or its scope understood today... there is no legislation or scheme providing for direct government assistance to the needy in Iran. All efforts in this field are being made by private organizations, which receive encouragement and, in certain cases, material assistance from the Government."

Libya

"It is quite unrealistic to talk in terms of the provision of assistance for the needy as part of the social welfare structure of Libya. The inescapable fact is that the country has no welfare structure in the usual sense of the term. This should not occasion surprise in view of the history of conquest and occupation during the last 40 years... A country which is unable to provide more than a handful of teachers and which has not a single doctor or fully

trained nurse of its own can hardly be expected to think in terms of social welfare, or a nation-wide scheme of assistance. The very limited provision which has been made for schemes of relief is represented by an uneven patchwork of a number of local and unco-ordinated arrangements, some of them hastily improvised to meet famine conditions resulting from the recurring droughts."

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND TRADITIONS

84. The evolution of government schemes of assistance, both in developed and less-developed countries, can almost invariably be traced to religious or traditional customs which have existed for centuries. These customs, whatever their origin, still retain their significance both in principle and in practice, in varying degrees in nearly every country, including those in which there are now comprehensive schemes of state assistance. On the other hand, the state has accepted the responsibility for relieving need which had previously been borne by individuals, acting singly or in groups. This can frequently be attributed, at any rate, in part to the breaking away from long-established customs as a result of political action. An example of this is the dissolution of the monasteries in England during the sixteenth century. The monasteries had been places of refuge and had given help to the destitute in the form of food and shelter—even as the Buddhist monasteries of Burma do today. Although the disappearance of this source of material help was not the sole or even the most important factor in the evolution of the English Poor Law which remained substantially unchanged for nearly 300 years, it contributed to the introduction of legislation which made each parish and village responsible for the relief of its own poor.

85. Whilst, in some countries, the development of official schemes of assistance has been hastened by the waning influence of long-standing customs, the reverse process has occurred in others and the setting up of official schemes, the cost of which has inevitably had to be met from compulsory taxation, has resulted in a reduction in the amount of private charity. Yet again, in other countries, traditional customs and official schemes have continued to exist side by side without any marked effect of one on the other. The broad picture in the less-developed territories in the field of assistance to the needy is one of varied and slowly changing patterns, with traditional customs still largely predominating but with the social and economic developments of recent years beginning to have their effect. In the few less-developed countries where some form of governmental schemes of continuing assistance exist they are of comparatively recent origin. At the same time, other countries have invested traditional customs of private assistance, including the maintenance of relatives, with the force of law by embodying them in the legislative code of the country as has happened, for instance, in Iran, as noted in the following extract from the relevant monograph:

"Today, however, arrangements for assistance by relatives, employers, etc., have gradually crystallized into a system and have been given legal form; they have ceased to be optional and patriarchal and have become an integral part of ordinary law. The community's responsibilities in the matter of assistance to the poor have thus gradually come to be defined by legislation."

86. There are significant references, in the monographs on the countries of Latin America dealt with, to the way in which humanitarian considerations and religious customs have, together, played their part in the development of schemes of assistance and to the acceleration of this development by the after-effects of war and natural disasters.

Bolivia

"Until the creation of the Ministry of Labour, Social Welfare and Health in 1943... social assistance for the needy had been entirely in the hands of private welfare, charity and religious associations. In the case of orphans, as a consequence of the war with Paraguay, the State organized the first orphanages."

Chile

"In Chile, as in all other Latin American countries, assistance originated with the Indian laws, which provided that, wherever a town was built, a site should be reserved for the construction of a hospital and provision made for its maintenance. The first step towards social welfare work in Chile was the establishment of hospitals in all towns... Assistance to the needy, in the form of charity, was given by the Government, the Church and private persons. The provisions of the end of the sixteenth century reflect the harmony that existed between the municipal authorities and ecclesiastical or private charities. After the earthquakes that devastated the country, or during epidemics, they one and all distributed money and food to help the victims... During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, much charitable work was done, often in accordance with the customs of the time; for example, well-to-do householders used to set aside one day a week for the distribution of alms to beggars and the needy."

Ecuador

"Action was at first limited to the placing of needy persons in hospices, homes and orphanages, without any consideration of special needs. The placing in the community home or the giving of alms were, generally speaking, the forms in which assistance was given and that may be said to have been the main line of thought up to 1938... Since 1938 there has been a movement to carry out welfare work, especially under the direction of the Ministry of Social Welfare."

87. Of the three countries considered in this report the Governments of which have drawn up nation-wide schemes for assistance to the needy, Japan seems to have been the first to make legal provision for such assistance. This was done during the so-called Meiji era, which began in 1867. In 1874, the Government enacted the Poor Relief Regulation, described as "a general and basic system of relief".

The preamble to the Regulation stipulated that the method for the relief of the people in need should be established through "the mutual fellowship among the people, and the State shall be responsible only for the relief of the extremely poor and helpless in pressing need. This Regulation remained in force until it was superseded by the Poor Relief Law of 1929 which specified the classes of persons (the aged and infirm, children under 13, pregnant women, the sick and the mentally and physically handicapped) who could be granted relief. During the occupation of Japan after the Second World War, the Poor Relief Law was, in turn, superseded by the Daily Life Security Law of 1946, amended four years later by an Act of the same title; it is this latest Act which governs the present national system of assistance to the needy.

88. In the case of Ceylon, the first statutory provision for assistance to the needy seems to have been the Poor Law Ordinance of 1939, which came into operation in 1940. This ordinance, which imposed on the local authorities the duty of the provision of relief for persons other than the able-bodied, was based on the English Poor Law, as amended, which was still in operation at that time. The Government of Ceylon had, however, made some administrative provision for the relief of need well before the end of the nineteenth century; records of the Treasury for 1886 (the earliest available) showed that during that year nearly 50,000 rupees were set aside for charitable allowance to "Friend-in-Need societies, paupers etc."

89. In spite of the Ordinance of 1939, which as yet operates in three municipalities only, the earlier provision by the central government has continued to develop, so that it has now become a nationwide public assistance scheme, integrated with the general administration of the island. That the growth of the central government's provision did not lead to the disappearance of private charity in Ceylon is mentioned in the "*Report on the Proposal to Introduce Statutory Provision for Poor Relief in Ceylon*" of 1934 (the *Wedderburn Report*, so called after its author) in the following terms:

"It is clear therefore that among the Sinhalese the duty of assisting the poor was an essential part of the body of the law by which society was regulated and the results of this remains today, not only in formal charity—the feeding of the poor by the well-to-do on special occasions and the custom that no supplicant can be sent away without alms—but also in the engrained charity of the people towards their poorer neighbours."

90. Two years earlier, the Controller of Labour of Ceylon had reported that:

"There seems little doubt that the dislocation of the Island's economic life in recent years has very gravely affected the lives and fortunes of very many thousands as the sums available for relief whether governmental or local seem pathetically small and would be more so were it not for the abiding charity of the people which keeps utter destitution from very many homes."

91. In the case of Egypt, the scheme of social security now in operation is of most recent origin, having come into effect in February 1951. Before that date, assistance to the needy was left almost entirely to the Islamic institutions which continue to play an important part in the country's social structure, and to the large number of charitable organizations of all kinds. The first intervention by the Government seems to have been in the 1930's, when a number of soup kitchens were set up in the larger towns. From many points of view, the Egyptian scheme is one of unusual interest. It is understood that the Government originally intended to adopt a system of social insurance but, when it was realized that this would benefit only the comparatively small minority of people who worked for cash wages, it was decided to abandon the proposal in favour of a social security system which did not involve the payment of insurance contributions and which would, therefore, be available to the fellahen (peasants) in the villages of the Nile valley as well as to the citizens of such cities as Cairo and Alexandria. This decision suggests that a cash economy plays a greater part in the lives of the fellahen than it does among the peasants of most less-developed territories, a situation which is, no doubt, due largely to the concentration of the rural population in the valley of the Nile with the resultant closer approximation to conditions of an urban economy.

PRINCIPAL FEATURES OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT SCHEMES

92. It is proposed at this point to give a brief outline of the main features of the existing schemes in Ceylon, Egypt and Japan, since these countries, for reasons already explained, must be considered to be in a different category from the other six in relation to the subject of this report. Different aspects of these schemes are discussed in more detail in later chapters.

Ceylon

Although there are two distinct schemes of assistance in Ceylon, the differentiation, unlike that in Egypt, where there are also two schemes (see below), is not in terms of categories of needy persons but of geographical location. The underlying object of the Poor Law Ordinance of 1939 was to transfer the financial and administrative burden of poor relief, except for the able-bodied, from the central government to the local authorities, but this transfer has so far been limited to the municipalities of Colombo, Kandy and Galle, the combined population of which is less than 7 per cent of that of the whole country. Reference to the three municipal schemes is made in the section of this chapter dealing with local authority schemes.

The non-statutory scheme of public assistance operated by the central government throughout the greater part of Ceylon, although dating back some seventy years, seems to have become of real importance during the last twenty years only. Before 1932, it took the form of a small allocation from the central budget to the nine provinces into which the country is divided. Between 1934 and 1953, the annual expenditure rose from 127,250 rupees to 9,000,000 rupees, which, even allowing for some depreciation in the purchasing power of the rupee,

represents a phenomenal increase. Public assistance under the central government scheme is payable in the form of monthly allowances to the sick, the aged and infirm, the physically and mentally defective and their dependants, widows with dependent children, women deserted by their husbands or deprived of their help owing to incurable illness, imprisonment or other similar cause, and orphans under 16 years of age deprived of the help of their parents. Able-bodied persons and "professional beggars" are specifically excluded. The scheme is based on the existence of a state of destitution which is defined as "if owing to neglect or inability to fend for themselves they have reached a stage where they have fallen below the standard which is necessary for a life consistent with human requirements". The continuing importance of the public assistance scheme, in spite of the object of the Poor Law Ordinance referred to in the preceding paragraph, is indicated by the number of recipients at the end of 1952—nearly 80,000—compared with a total of less than 13,000 recipients under the three municipal poor law schemes.

Egypt

The social security scheme which came into operation in 1951 was preceded by a sample statistical survey of the conditions of low income families in both rural and urban areas. This survey was made by the Egyptian Statistical Department in co-operation with an expert from the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration. The scheme is of a two-fold nature; there is a system of non-contributory pensions "to cover the needs of destitute families caused by the death of the breadwinner, disability or old age", and a social assistance system for certain other categories of needy people. Broadly speaking, the first system caters to long-term needs whilst the social assistance system covers families in need because of some temporary difficulty, such as illness or imprisonment of the breadwinner, although widows and divorced wives who have no entitlement to a pension are also included in certain circumstances. In spite of their different titles, the two systems are fundamentally the same in character since both are based on the ascertainment of need and both are financed entirely from the national budget. Each system is, therefore, a form of public assistance. There are, however, at least two important differences between them. Firstly, whereas there is a legal entitlement to a non-contributory pension, if it can be established that the prescribed conditions are present, there is no similar entitlement to assistance, which is granted as a matter of discretion according to the budgetary position. In fact, however, this difference has not, so far, proved to be a very real one as insufficient budgetary funds have been available to meet all valid claims for pension. Secondly, while, as their name suggests, pensions are continuing payments not limited in duration (so long as conditions of entitlement are satisfied), "assistance" takes the form either of a single lump sum payment or of continuing periodic payments for a period not exceeding two years. As explained in paragraph 182 below, the social security scheme is administered through a separate department of the Ministry of Social Affairs.

Japan

The scheme of assistance under the Daily Life Security Law is a universal one, as distinct from the dual schemes in operation in Ceylon and Egypt. The Daily Life Security Law, unlike the legislation which it superseded—the Poor Relief Law of 1929—does not limit the categories of persons entitled to assistance. In particular, it has ended the exclusion of persons in need on account of unemployment; furthermore, it does not exclude employed persons.

Article I of the current Daily Life Security Law (as amended in 1950, consequent upon the experience gained in the operation of the immediate post-war legislation of 1946) sets out the fundamental basis of the Act in the following terms:

"The purpose of the Law shall be that the State will, in accordance with the principle provided for in Article 25¹⁸ of the Constitution of Japan, provide necessary assistance to all of the citizens in need, according to the degree of need, and thus guarantee their minimum living as well as encourage them to become self-supporting."

The Daily Life Security Law places an obligation upon the Minister of Welfare to lay down a minimum standard of assistance according to the composition and circumstances of the individual family. In addition to basic assistance, described as "livelihood aid", there are six other kinds of aid, relating to educational, housing, medical, maternity, occupational and funeral expenses. In April 1953, there were some 677,000 individuals in receipt of assistance under the Law, representing, with their dependants, over 1,900,000 people or about 1 in 45 of the population. The expenditure during 1952 amounted to 28,784 million yen.

PRINCIPAL FEATURES OF LOCAL AUTHORITY SCHEMES

93. There appear to be only two instances among the nine countries dealt with in this report of autonomous local authorities administering schemes of continuing assistance to the needy within the conventional pattern of public assistance. These are in Ceylon, in the municipalities of Colombo, Kandy and Galle and in Libya, in Tripoli.¹⁹ The various special aspects of these schemes are dealt with in detail in later chapters of this report.

Ceylon

The "statutory poor relief" schemes operating in the three municipalities are based on the Poor Law Ordinance of 1939 (see paragraph 88 above). Under that Ordinance, assistance was to be given by the local authorities to the physically or mentally infirm or incapacitated, to orphans or children (below a prescribed age) of poor parents, and also in cases of "sudden and urgent necessity". It was visualized that this transfer from the Central Government would eventually apply to all local authorities in the island and that each would make special financial provision. What has in fact occurred so far is described as follows in the relevant monograph:

"The law operates at present in the three municipal towns of Colombo, Kandy and Galle only; but none has yet levied a special rate for the purpose of financing poor relief. The proper investigation of cases and the giving of satisfactory relief has been attempted only in the Colombo Municipality, and this has been possible because of the strong financial position of the

¹⁸ Article 25 states that "All people have the right to maintain the minimum standards of wholesome and cultured living in all spheres of life, the State shall use its endeavours for the promotion and extension of social welfare and security and of public health".

¹⁹ Tripoli, the capital of the province of Tripolitania, and Benghazi, the capital of the province of Cyrenaica, rank equally as "Federal capitals".

Municipal Council. The lack of funds has, however, stood in the way of suitable relief being given to the poor in the other towns. For the same reasons, the Ordinance has not been extended to other urban areas and to rural areas—i.e. other municipal council areas and urban council areas, town council and village committee areas—, though 14 years have elapsed since the Ordinance was passed. It will thus be seen that the expectations of those who recommended this legislation and those who were responsible for placing it on the Statute Book have not been fulfilled. A number of local authorities have expressed the view that their finances do not permit their undertaking the administration of the Poor Law in their respective areas.”

The rates of assistance allowances and the number of recipients in the three municipalities are governed by their financial resources. Whilst the allowances payable in Colombo are higher than those payable under the central government's public assistance scheme, the allowances in Galle and Kandy are lower. The monograph states that

“there is truth in the complaint that the plight of the poor in Galle and Kandy has become worse since the introduction of the Poor Law as the rates of assistance have been decreased or have remained stationary when the rates of assistance given by the Government agents have increased.”

Colombo and Kandy each operate their poor law administration through a central Public Assistance Committee of the municipality, whilst in Galle the administration is in the hands of ward sub-committees.

Libya

Although, in many respects, Libya is the least developed of the nine countries under consideration, the larger of its two capital cities—Tripoli—has a system of poor relief administered by the municipality. The explanation seems to lie in the history of the occupation of Tripolitania during the last 40 years, which led to a concentration of Europeans in the only really large city in the biggest (in terms of population) of the three provinces which now form the United Kingdom of Libya. An interesting and unusual feature of the Tripoli scheme is that, although (with one very minor exception) there is no other similar scheme in Tripolitania or, for that matter, in any of the other provinces, the cost is met from the provincial budget of Tripolitania and not by the municipality. The administration of what is known as the “poor card” system is in the hands of a Municipal Relief Committee which contains representatives of each of the four communities (Arab, Italian, Jewish and Maltese) which make up the cosmopolitan population of the city. The Tripoli scheme differs from the schemes in Ceylon, Egypt and Japan in that the bulk of the expenditure is incurred in the supply of food in the form of monthly rations. The Tripoli poor card system, which, like the public assistance system of Ceylon, is not covered by statutory provisions, is unrestricted as regards categories of needy persons, each case being considered by the Relief Committee on its individual merits. It resembles the Japanese system in that persons in employment are not excluded. In practice, however, the very limited financial provision means that only a small proportion of persons in real need are assisted.

RELATION OF GOVERNMENT SCHEMES OF ASSISTANCE TO OTHER SOCIAL SECURITY PROVISIONS

94. In those countries where programmes of social security or income maintenance play a prominent part in government admin-

istration as well as in the day-to-day lives of the people, schemes of assistance based on individual or family need have come to be regarded as residual services to fill in any gaps which may be left by contributory social insurance schemes. This stop-gap role may take the form of supplementing insurance benefits in those cases where they prove to be inadequate or, more important, of providing the basic income where insurance benefits are not payable. Because of the very high proportion of peasants who are either self-employed or whose work remuneration is in the form of a share of the crop in nearly all the less-developed territories, there are severe practical limitations to the extent to which insurance can be used as a means of social security. Of the countries with which this report is concerned, Japan is the only one which has both a nation-wide scheme of assistance and a comprehensive system of social insurance, extending, in the case of sickness insurance, to self-employed persons. Although the Japanese Advisory Council on Social Security has recommended to the Government that the means to secure the minimum standard of living should be an overall insurance system, it appears from information contained in the monograph that this result has not yet been achieved (see para. 218 below).

95. Neither Ceylon nor Egypt, the other two countries with national schemes of assistance, has so far adopted social insurance, although in both countries there is protection (employers' liability or workmen's compensation) for employees who meet with accidents in the course of their employment. In Libya, the three separate social insurance schemes are, in practice, limited almost entirely to Tripoli. Moreover, except in respect of industrial accidents, the scope of the schemes has been confined to Europeans working for employers, so that the schemes are of little practical significance to the much larger Arab population of the city.

96. Burma, like a number of other countries which have not yet embarked upon schemes of social insurance, has enacted legislation in respect of workmen's compensation, but the scope of this legislation is necessarily very limited since it applies only to a small minority of the working population of the country; some groups of workers, however, have an entitlement to sick pay (which has been extended to cover maternity cases) at the sole expense of the employer. The four remaining countries, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador and Iran, have schemes of social insurance in various stages of development and effectiveness, but, except in the case of Chile, with its relatively large urban and industrialized population, these schemes cover only a small proportion of workers and therefore do not take the place of schemes of assistance based on individual need. Moreover, with the exception of Iran, none of these four countries makes any provision for insurance against unemployment. (For ease of reference, notes on the social insurance position in each of the nine countries are given in appendix II).

97. In its wider meaning, the term "social security" can be taken to include a variety of provisions, ranging from complete maintenance in institutions to various forms of limited benefits in cash or kind for special purposes. These latter include the granting of children's or family allowances to persons with family responsibilities, rent allowances, free medical treatment and rehabilitation facilities. The benefits so provided are sometimes, but not always, based on ascertained need as distinct from presumptive or potential need. To avoid undue repetition, reference to these benefits will be made in the appropriate sections and chapters of this report.

SCHEMES OF ASSISTANCE SPONSORED BY RELIGIOUS AND OTHER NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS²⁰

98. Since most non-governmental organizations concerned with the relief of poverty have a religious origin, it is convenient to consider this subject on the basis of the religious grouping of the countries of the Middle East, the Far East and Latin America considered here.

The Moslem countries of the Middle East

99. Reference has been made in chapter I to the great emphasis that is laid on almsgiving as one of the cardinal features of the Islamic creed. There are several methods by which a Moslem is enabled to fulfil the requirements to make gifts to the poor as a personal duty. The extent to which these various methods now apply in any particular Moslem country seems to be governed largely by the different way in which traditional customs and practices have become modified with the political, social and economic development of the country concerned, and also by the predominance of particular sects, such as the Shiah sect in Iran. In the extract from the monograph on Egypt quoted earlier (see paragraph 55 above), it was pointed out that, in that country, the distinction between legal or compulsory almsgiving (*zakat*) and voluntary almsgiving (*sadakah*) is not always observed in practice and that the former is now left to individuals who give according to their personal generosity and piety. The teachings of the Koran and of the Prophet called for both *zakat* on the part of the rich, and for *sadakah* on the part of all believers as indispensable aspects of Moslem practice. In the three Moslem countries covered here, however, tithes appear to have lost their compulsory character and to have become assimilated to voluntary almsgiving, which alone survives in all three countries. Moreover, as the Koran stresses the virtue of giving alms in secret ("If you make

²⁰ The terms "non-governmental", "private", "charitable" and "voluntary" organizations (or agencies) are used in different contexts in the course of this report to denote the variety of institutions which have not originated as part of government organization.

your alms to appear it is well, but if you conceal them and give them to the poor, this will be better for you") there is no ready means of assessing the full extent to which the influence of Islam serves to alleviate need, but there seems to be little doubt that many devout Moslems follow the injunction of the Koran by making secret gifts in cash or kind to their poorer relatives, particularly on the occasion of Moslem feasts. An outward sign of the continued acceptance of the almsgiving precepts of the Koran is the prevalence of beggars, more usually in the neighbourhood of mosques. In each of the three Moslem countries under consideration there is some degree of legal prohibition of begging of local application, although the extent to which this legislation is enforced by the police authorities appears to be very limited.

100. Of all the Moslem institutions concerned with the making of gifts to the poor, the charitable foundation known as the *Wakfs* is the most important, not only because it is widely developed and accepted, but because, at any rate in Egypt and Iran, it has come to be administered as part of the government of the country, with the result that the funds which it provides can be fully controlled and diverted to specific purposes. The concept of bequeathing property to the *Wakfs* is two-fold. In one case, the property is for the benefit of the community at large—such as the provision of a mosque or other buildings; in the second, and more important from the point of view of this study, the gift takes the form of an endowment, the income from the bequeathed property to be made available in perpetuity for the benefit of the poor.

101. The role of the *Wakfs* and other charitable institutions in the three countries of the Middle East covered by this survey is suggested by a number of references in the relevant country monographs.

Egypt

"The Ministry of *Wakfs* which was established in 1835 as a religious and semi-governmental organization, is the most far-reaching agency engaged in relief work and is considered very important within the whole framework of public assistance in the country. It administers endowments and charitable foundations that some people endow from their prosperity for charitable purposes. The greater part of the revenue of the *Wakfs* is spent towards providing permanent and periodic relief to the needy families, schools, orphanages, providing clothing and food to the poor and assisting students coming from abroad to study Islamic teachings at El Azhar University. It also includes celebrating religious feasts, providing subsidies to private agencies, help for benevolent societies for teaching the Koran and building mosques."

The Ministry's budget for the fiscal year 1952/53, included provision for continuing allowances to some 6,000 families "on the basis of case investigation" at a total cost of £ E 140,000. Another £ E 75,000 was allocated for temporary relief and clothing assistance based on the recommendation of "someone known to the Ministry" or the local authorities. The Ministry also undertook the administration by way of monthly allowances of £ E 54,000 for "families indi-

cated in the endowments" (in general, families related to the *Wakfs* donor) who are regarded as having a legal entitlement without any question of investigation into their needs. In carrying out this latter function, the Ministry acts as a trustee on behalf of the specified beneficiaries. In so doing, it is not necessarily concerned with the question of the provision of assistance for those in need as it is in carrying out its other functions. It is pointed out that in other categories of beneficiaries, where case investigation is required, Islamic doctrine provides that there shall be no humiliation of the potential beneficiary.

The extent to which non-governmental organizations other than the *Wakfs* participate in the relief of need among the people of Egypt is summarized as follows: "There are, at present, about 3,200 social private agencies registered with the Ministry of Social Affairs, with a budget of about £ E 2,123,600 and membership of about 283,000, serving mostly urban communities. Their functions cover a wide range of social services including relief, nutrition, education, medical social services, vocational guidance and institutional social work. In the fiscal year 1952/53, private organizations spent about £ E 150,000 on relief work, including temporary and permanent assistance, burial expenses, assistance for marriage and education, clothing and assistance in kind. The large associations engaged in relief work provide assistance to the needy people on the basis of social investigation... Some of these organizations serve certain groups, such as a religious sect or people of a certain locality. Others serve on a national basis. The private organizations supplement and support the efforts of the public in assisting the needy."

It appears, however, that many of these private organizations rely very largely on subsidies from public funds.

Iran

The institution of the *Wakfs* is stated to have been widely developed in Iran, so much so that it has become the possessor of a large proportion of the cultivated land of the country--a proportion which some estimates put as high as one third of the total area. The administration of *Wakfs* endowments is carried out through a special department of the Ministry of Education. The utilization of *Wakfs* income in the interests of the needy (as distinct from the direct use of settled property for the community at large) is emphasized in the following terms:

"The second category... consists of *Wakfs* whose beneficiaries enjoy the use not of the property itself but of the income therefrom. These *Wakfs* are mainly intended for the poor and destitute and for all in need. The income is applied according to the general stipulations of the person making the endowment, but always for the benefit of the poor. In no circumstances may such income be expended for the benefit of persons in possession of financial means. There are large numbers of *Wakfs* of the second category throughout Iran by means of which some assistance is given to the needy. The social institution of the *Wakfs*, introduced by Islam in its earliest days, has become deeply rooted in the law and customs of Iran. As a result of its religious character, the *Wakfs* has a closer affinity to charity than to social assistance, as it has gradually evolved in other countries."

In addition to the *Wakfs*, there are a number of non-governmental organizations in Iran which are concerned with the relief of distress. The two most important are the Imperial Charity Foundation and the Red Lion and Sun Society of Iran (the Iranian equivalent of the Red Cross). References to the assistance activities of these organizations are made later in this report.

Libya

Although the institution of the *Wakfs* exists in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica (but not, so far as is known, in the Fezzan) it appears, in present conditions, to do little to provide assistance to the needy. This situation may be attributable to the relatively small income available to the institution, due to the general poverty of the country. The fact that, until recently, the country did not have its own Moslem government accounts for the absence of any governmental organization comparable to that of the Ministry of *Wakfs* in Egypt and the special department in the Ministry of Education in Iran. In Tripolitania, the *Wakfs* organization appears to be independent of the Government but in Cyrenaica it is now under the control of the Ministry of Justice for the province. The bulk of the income available to the *Wakfs* organizations in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica seems to be utilized for the maintenance of mosques and Koranic schools (religious schools primarily concerned with the teaching of the Koran) and for the payment of salaries to religious teachers. In part, the limitations on the *Wakfs* funds for providing assistance to the needy in Libya is counter-balanced by a system of Moslem Relief Committees which have been set up in the larger centres of population in Tripolitania and, to a lesser extent, in Cyrenaica. In spite of the title, the bulk of the funds available to these Committees is not derived from voluntary gifts made in compliance with the requirements of the Koran, although most committees derive some income on this basis. As originally conceived, the funds of the committees came from a small but compulsory levy on rich and poor alike, collected through the medium of the rationing system which was then in operation. It is understood, however, that with the end of rationing the main source of income in Tripolitania is now the Tripolitania Relief Fund: a non-Moslem organisation started during the Second World War to raise money for special relief measures by means of a lottery. The Moslem Relief Committees do not attempt to give continuing allowances, but distribute gifts, mainly in kind, on the occasion of Moslem feasts or make non-recurring grants to meet particular contingencies, including, in particular, funeral expenses. In Tripoli, there are a number of small charitable organizations primarily concerned with the needs of the non-Moslem communities which are a feature of that city.

The Buddhist countries of the Far East

102. The Buddhist religion, which predominates in Burma, Ceylon and Japan, but the influence of which on the way of living seems to vary as between these countries, does not lay stress on giving to the poor to the same extent as do the Islamic and Christian creeds. As mentioned earlier (see paragraph 54 above), the giving of alms either for religious purposes or to help the needy is, however, regarded as a means of acquiring individual merit. Hence, beggars are to be found outside Buddhist temples in the same way as they frequent the precincts of mosques in Moslem countries; but because of the individual and unorganized character of Buddhist charity, there are no charitable institutions in Buddhist countries comparable to the *Wakfs* organization in Egypt and Iran or the various Roman Catholic societies in Latin America. Relevant information drawn from the various country monographs is set forth below.

Burma

Most of the non-governmental organizations concerned with the alleviation of distress appear to have been set up, in the first instance, by Christian missionaries, but the *Sangha*, or Religious Brotherhood of Buddhist Monks, have made their contribution to the welfare of the country, mainly in the educational field. The monograph states that "the more progressive of the *Phongyis*, or monks, have also sheltered and fed the indigent and destitute and have acted as wise counsellors in solving the many social, spiritual and other difficulties of their local flock."

The history of successive conquests and occupation of Ceylon by European countries no doubt partly accounts for the fact that the more important voluntary agencies in the island did not originate as Buddhist organizations: "The origin of the voluntary agencies can be traced to the Colombo Friend-in-Need Society, established in 1831 at the suggestion of the Bishop of Calcutta, in whose see Ceylon was included. Branches of the Society were formed later at Kandy, Galle, Trincomalee and Jaffna, and in 1934, most of the important towns had Friend-in-Need Societies. The Colombo Friend-in-Need Society is the oldest voluntary agency on the island and has served the community for over 122 years. Its objects are the relief of deserving poor among the non-able-bodied persons residing in the city of Colombo and the encouragement of thrift and self-help... The Friend-in-Need Society also pays casual relief for a period of three months, either in cash or in kind by providing milk, food, medicine, spectacles, etc., to the poor... It has facilities... for the distribution of old clothes and sewn garments to the poor... The Ceylon Social Service League in Colombo and similar leagues in other towns maintain child welfare centres and clinics, and distribute food and other nourishments, such as cod-liver oil, vitamin C tablets, etc., to poor mothers and their infants. They have relief centres to help people in distress owing to ill-health or unemployment."

Japan

With the coming into operation of the Daily Life Security Law and the acceptance by the Government of direct responsibility for the relief of want, State subsidies to private organizations have been restricted and, consequently, these organizations have played a less important role in the assistance field. The Community Chest campaign is said, however, to yield a substantial source of income (over 100 million yen in 1950) for a variety of private welfare organizations. Among their other activities, these private organizations provide nearly one third of the 1,000 "protective institutions" (establishments affording accommodation for the aged, persons requiring rehabilitation, etc.) in the country.

The Christian countries of Latin America

103. The conception of Christian charity is more general in nature than the Islamic approach to almsgiving and this difference is reflected in the variety of religious welfare institutions to be found in countries like Bolivia, Chile and Ecuador where Roman Catholicism is the predominant religion. More particularly, the concern of the Roman Catholic Church is for the care of children and this is reflected in the numbers of orphanages established and maintained by the

various religious orders. Because of the historical background of the South American countries and, in general, the more prosperous position of their white communities, Christian charity very largely takes the form of help by these communities for the less prosperous indigenous peoples. The important part played by religious organizations in Latin America is emphasized in the extracts from the pertinent monographs set forth below.

Bolivia

"During the colonial period and for many years afterwards, welfare institutions were the responsibility of non-governmental organizations, usually religious orders... The community has, on many occasions, participated and co-operated with the State in welfare work, and agencies for the aged, the destitute and the infirm are still run by private organizations... Organizations such as the national Red Cross provide welfare services through their voluntary workers: those assisted are for the most part destitute persons with incomes far below the subsistence level who are unable to work and are wholly dependent upon public charity... The only institutions that concern themselves with the aged poor are the Roman Catholic shelters and some Salvation Army agencies... The poor or destitute, the aged, and large families are assisted by the Rotarian Ladies' Committee, the Red Cross Committee and the Society of St. Anthony of Padua which distribute money to the poor of the town without registration or investigation... generally speaking these institutions are run on traditional philanthropic lines in a spirit of Christian charity."

Chile

"There are a large number of private organizations for assistance to the needy in Chile. Many of them are subsidised, to a greater or less degree, by the State and were founded by private persons, dioceses, parishes or religious communities..."

"The *Patronato Nacional de la Infancia* (National Council for the Protection of Children) was founded in 1901 for charitable purposes by a group of persons wishing to provide protection for destitute children... and is at present fulfilling its purposes by caring for destitute, undernourished and rickety children from birth to the age of two or three years, through... milk distribution centres of which there are seventeen in operation in various working-class quarters of Santiago.

"The Society of St. Vincent de Paul, founded in Chile in 1854, is at present operating with 1,550 members working in 126 parochial branches and with many private organisations for assistance to the needy... the persons assisted are usually individuals and families who are not covered by social insurance and who have fallen into poverty as a result of being incapacitated for work through illness, desertion or other causes.

"The *Hermandad de Dolores*, active since 1823, provides charity, especially for the destitute sick. In Santiago it is at present providing medical services at home for approximately 4,000 patients a year, treating an average of 24,000 sick in thirteen dispensaries and dispensing approximately 33,000 prescriptions. It... keeps a clothing store and distributes bedding and clothing to destitute persons.

"The Auxilio Social Christiano has as its object attention to the social requirements of the needy—sufficient food for children and adults, necessary clothing and suitable accommodation... Its entire income is distributed in the form of assistance which was given to 600 families in 1952.

"The Salvation Army has hostels for homeless men and women and a home for needy girls, providing accommodation at low cost or free in cases of destitution.

"Private assistance bodies in Chile also maintain the following institutions, among others: 25 homes for the aged of both sexes, 46 homes for orphans or destitute children, 102 establishments for the protection of minors, 135 Red Cross medical aid institutions, 48 milk distribution centres... 15 homes for the destitute... 135 organizations of various types for assistance to the needy... 12 assistance centres... 21 different organizations for the education or assistance of indigenous inhabitants of Araucania, etc."

The number of voluntary organizations may be explained partly by the fact that as many as 60 per cent of the population live in towns and partly by the very high proportion of non-indigenous people.

Ecuador

"Almost all social welfare work and any assistance worth mentioning is confined to that provided by the Government. To this may be added the assistance provided by certain private institutions, especially religious institutions and bodies such as the Children's Aid Society, the Ladies' Committee of the Home for the Aged and Mendicants, etc., which are, of course, limited in their activities."

Details of the activities of the various religious and other voluntary organizations indicate that in the field of assistance to the needy, these activities are in fact on a comparatively small scale and are confined almost entirely to the capital city of Quito.

RELATIONS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

104. In those countries where direct government provision for assisting the needy is so limited that the major role is undertaken by voluntary organizations, the attitude of the government towards those organizations can be very important. If the government is content to let each organization proceed in its own way, with or without subsidy from State funds, it is probable that there will be a lack of co-ordination between the various voluntary bodies, with the consequent risk of overlapping and duplication. The need for mutual recognition and co-ordination is, if anything, even greater when the government itself is also making some direct provision, however limited in scope. It is a feature of the present stage in the development of assistance schemes of all kinds that there is a varied and complex relationship between governmental and non-governmental organizations, more particularly as regards subsidization of the latter from public funds, with a general tendency in the direction

of governments taking over more and more the traditional role of the voluntary organizations. The advantages of co-ordination are becoming increasingly recognized and some countries have attempted to set up machinery for this purpose, as is shown in the following extracts from the country monographs:

Bolivia

"The establishment of the Directorate of Social Welfare in the Ministry of Health, Labour and Social Welfare in 1944 represented the first step towards the planning of social welfare... but it has not succeeded in unifying public and voluntary social welfare agencies. The difficulty in unification lies in the fact that the voluntary institutions have private funds and consequently are not subject to State supervision, although most of them receive Government assistance and support. In 1948 a Welfare Council was set up by Executive Decree. The decree gave voluntary welfare institutions a share in the profits of the National Welfare and Health Lottery... The decree established an organization, composed of all institutions having relations with the Ministry, for the sole purpose of the allotment of funds, without stipulation as to the type of welfare work, the number of persons assisted or the type of assistance to be given... The present social welfare system is, for the most part, voluntary... There are frequent conflicts of interest and overlapping of the assistance provided, which results in the duplication of the services available to the same category of assisted persons."

Burma

"A further kind of government assistance consists of contributions to some selected private institutions... there is no State control whatsoever over them. The source of these funds... is the general revenue of the country and revenues from particular sources are not allocated for such purposes."

Ceylon

"Recently, a Central Council for Social Services was established... It is an organization of social service societies designed to assist... [these societies], through common action, in the work which they are doing, to draw public attention to the value of that work, to point out the deficiencies which might be remedied either by the societies or by the governmental social services... In order to encourage the establishment of more homes for the care of the aged, the Government has instituted a scheme to pay voluntary agencies grants of not more than half the cost of construction or extension to such homes and the full cost of furniture and equipment.

"The voluntary agencies have neither the desire nor the means to compete with the Government or with local government authorities. There are, however, sections of the social services in which voluntary workers are likely to be more effective than public servants. Their difficulty is lack of adequate workers and funds, and hence they depend to a great extent on grants from the central government."

Chile

"Legislative Decree No. 329 of 25th July 1953, set up a National Welfare and Social Assistance Service (an agency formerly known under the title of the Labour Social Service) to co-ordinate most of the social assistance and

welfare services under State supervision, with a view to improved efficiency... It will establish and keep up-to-date the Central National Social Assistance Register, a record of all individuals or family groups receiving aid from public or private institutions on grounds of need or indigence... The National Welfare and Social Assistance Service will supplement, co-ordinate and direct the activities of the social workers in public and semi-public organizations, in order to ensure that the maximum benefit is derived from these activities. It will be responsible for co-ordinating and directing the activities of public and semi-public municipal or private institutions carrying out community assistance or welfare work."

It may be noted that most religious and other voluntary organizations in Chile concerned with the provision of assistance in some form or other receive State subsidies.

Ecuador

"The responsibility for social assistance to the needy falls almost entirely on the State, acting through the medium of the Ministry of Social Welfare... Furthermore, 98 per cent of the private institutions receive State subsidies. The Ministry of Social Welfare has no control over the operation and administration of the institutions which are subsidized in one form or another from the budget."

Egypt

The relationship between the Government and private benevolent societies and social institutions is governed by the terms of the Social Security Law of 1945. Under that law, all public and private organizations must register with the Social Security Department of the Ministry of Social Affairs; to effect registration, these agencies must make monthly returns of all assistance rendered in cash or in kind. The Social Security Department must work in collaboration with other Ministries and with private agencies—full recognition being given to the importance of such agencies—and co-ordinate their activities. Further, the Ministry of Social Affairs must authorize the solicitation of funds. The administrative basis for the establishment of a social services exchange system, maintaining central case files, thus exists.

The National Board of Social Services was established recently, charged with the functions of a policy-making and advisory body, to supervise, control and co-ordinate all private and public social action, including assistance and relief work, whether at the local or the national level.

Certain private agencies, including those engaged in relief distribution, receive government subsidies.

"Assistance to the needy... is largely provided piecemeal, the various charitable organizations each contributing a part... no action has been taken by the Government to consolidate the various assistance schemes under its direct authority or to establish rules governing each type of assistance... the Government has apparently hitherto been content to encourage the work of private organizations in this field, giving them its moral and material support whenever possible... In order to co-ordinate the work of the various organizations for assistance to the needy, a council of representatives of these organizations was established by Imperial Order in 1950.. the Council may

assist any institution which applies for help... The charitable organizations... are not exclusively private in character since their funds are derived mainly from taxes established by Government decrees and from allocations from the national budget."

Japan

The chief association between the Government and non-governmental organizations in the field of assistance appears to be in connexion with the establishment of "private protective institutions" under the Daily Life Security Law. Only "social welfare juridical persons" are permitted to set up such institutions and applications must be made to the governor or the prefecture for approval. Before giving his approval, the governor is required to satisfy himself as to the financial standing of the applicant, the necessity for the establishment of the institution and the qualifications of the staff to be employed.

Libya

"The close connexion between government and religion which is a feature of all Moslem countries makes it difficult to distinguish between official and religious schemes... Moslem Relief Committees which operate on a local basis to serve the larger centres of the static population throughout Tripolitania and Cyrenaica are a practical example of the close association between governmental and religious organizations... The members of the Committees, who are usually nominated by the district commissioner, include leading figures in the district including the mayor, who is sometimes—but not always—the chairman.

"The resources of the Tripolitania Relief Fund have, in the past, been used in a variety of ways and for widely differing objects; many of these latter would ordinarily be regarded as a governmental responsibility and it is indicative of the parlous condition of the country's financial and economic position that a charitable organization has felt the need to undertake the tasks which the Fund has done... It is perhaps not surprising that the money provided by the Fund is frequently assumed by the beneficiaries to come from government sources... Financial responsibility for the upkeep of Buharida (the Tripoli poor house) is divided between the Tripoli Moslem Relief Committee and the Tripolitanian Government, the latter accepting responsibility for the cost of food for a maximum of 350 inmates. The division of administrative responsibility as between the Relief Committee and the Government is somewhat obscure, but the latest information... is that the Tripolitanian Government has taken over responsibility for running the poor house from the Relief Committee."

DIFFERENCES IN PROVISION MADE FOR RURAL AND URBAN POPULATIONS

105. It was suggested in chapter I that the differences between an urban and rural way of life are very much accentuated in the conditions of the less-developed territories. In such cities as Colombo, Rangoon, Santiago, Tokyo and Cairo, a large proportion of the population work for cash wages for an employer, live in houses for which rent has to be paid, and obtain all their food and other necessities of life (including clothing) by purchase from shops. In

addition to these basic essentials, they may well have other expenditures on public transport, newspapers and even cinemas, expenditure on which tends to become regarded as a necessity by virtue of constant habit. The cessation of their normal income, whether by reason of unemployment, inability to work owing to illness or old age, or on the death of the family breadwinner, entails an immediate problem for the people of these cities if, as will most frequently be the position, that income has left no margin for saving for future contingencies. Life in the conditions of a large town almost inevitably means a severance of the ties which exist between members of the extended family, the community or the tribe and, with that severance, the disappearance of the spirit and practice of mutual aid which is the source to which people in the rural district can frequently look for help in time of need.

106. The townsman who loses his normal means of livelihood is, in general, in greater material need than his fellow countryman in the rural district and, at the same time, he is less likely to be able to look to his own kith and kin with the same degree of assurance to meet that need. There may, however, be alternative sources of income open to him which are not available to the rural dweller. In the first place, if his country is one which has adopted social insurance, he is, as a worker in the town, much more likely to be covered against any of the contingencies which prevent him from continuing to work than the independent peasant or small farmer in the rural district. Secondly, in those countries where there is only very limited government and non-governmental provision of assistance, such provision as is made is almost invariably confined to the larger towns. The reasons for this are largely self-evident. A concentration of a large population in the conditions of a big town must inevitably result in a corresponding concentration of people who, at any one time, are prevented from obtaining a normal livelihood for one reason or another, thereby creating a demand for some public provision to be made for them in the absence of any other source of help. Furthermore, the making of such provision for a concentrated population presents much less difficult administrative problems than the making of similar provision for the same number of people scattered over innumerable small villages widely separated from each other and with inadequate transport and communication facilities between them. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the predominantly rural conditions of the less-developed countries such schemes of assistance allowances as exist, as well as homes for old people, orphanages and similar institutions, are almost invariably confined to the larger towns. In connexion with this question of the administrative difficulties of dealing with a widely scattered rural population, it is significant that in all three of the nine countries dealt with where there is a nation-wide scheme of assistance, there is also a high density of population—considering the territory of Egypt for this purpose as being confined to the valley of the Nile.

Ceylon, in addition to its concentrated population, has the advantage of a good system of roads throughout the island which facilitates communications and therefore administration by the central government.

107. Where the schemes of public assistance include both urban and rural districts, the higher cost of living in the former is frequently recognized by a differentiation of rates of allowances in favour of the townsman, as is the case in Egypt. There is, however, the converse and unusual position in Ceylon, where the allowances payable by the municipalities of Kandy and Galle under the Poor Law Ordinance are lower than the rates of public assistance paid under the general scheme operating throughout the rest of the island, with the exception of Colombo. This situation has arisen as a result of circumstances which are unconnected with the relative costs of living.²¹

108. The existence in nearly all less-developed territories of a peasant economy, in which the family acts as the food-producing unit and transactions by barter are much more common than cash purchases, is one of the biggest factors accounting for the almost complete lack of schemes of assistance and social insurance in these areas. Clearly, in an isolated self-contained peasant community where the use of currency is the exception rather than the rule, any system of allowances in cash would be quite inappropriate, even if it were otherwise practicable. Another factor of considerable importance in contrasting the position of the peasant with that of the town worker who is employed on a wage basis is that when the former is unable to work, or dies, some member of his family is usually able to take on his tasks, if not with the same proficiency, at any rate sufficiently well to maintain the production of food. An employer, on the other hand, does not normally replace an incapacitated or deceased worker by a member of that worker's family. In essence, the security of an urban family depends upon the receipt of wages; that of the rural family on the possession of a plot of land. Virtually the only members of a peasant family who are prevented from making any contribution to its maintenance are the very young and the totally incapacitated; men and women grow their own food and tend their own animals when their physical condition is such that no normal employer would be willing to engage them. While young children are accustomed from a very early age to take a considerable share in the work of the family.

109. The information contained in several of the country monographs shows that, because of the concentration of governmental and non-governmental social welfare organizations in the towns, the rural population derive little or no benefit from them. In the case of Ecuador, for instance, it is pointed out that, whilst legally there

²¹ For a discussion of the causes of this situation, see paras. 88 and 89 above.

is no racial discrimination as regards provisions of care for the needy, the fact that almost all the welfare services are concentrated in Quito means that, in practice, the indigenous and negro racial groups do not benefit from these services. A somewhat similar position appears to obtain in Bolivia where, it is stated, "rural areas are hardly covered". The restriction of the poor card system in Libya to the city of Tripoli is yet another example of the same kind. It is interesting to note, however, that the activities of the missionary societies in Burma "are not centred in Rangoon alone, but are spread further in other parts of Burma and more particularly in the frontier... areas" which are less developed; but this statement must be considered in conjunction with the fact that the missions in question are more concerned with educational and medical questions than with the relief of poverty.

Chapter III

CATEGORIES OF NEEDY PEOPLE AND THE PROVISION MADE FOR THEM

CHILDREN

110. Article 25 (2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights provides that "Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection". Quite apart from this provision, it is generally accepted that a child in want of the necessities of life is entitled to the highest priority in any plans for the alleviation of need. This certainly applies with no less force to the children of the less-developed territories than to those of other lands. While the high priority is mainly attributable to considerations of humanity and compassion because of the inevitable dependence of the child on others for the means of life, there are also important social and economic considerations. The future of any country must lie in the hands of its children; if they are brought up in conditions of malnutrition, poverty, squalor and ignorance, their potential value as men and women on whom the progress of the country will depend in the years to come is lowered. A less-developed country which does not attempt to eliminate the consequences of need among its child population is in danger of remaining less-developed in the wider sense of the word, whatever the measures that may be taken in the economic field. It is, therefore, encouraging to record that the monographs show that the special claims of children are recognized by the Governments of the less-developed territories and that, even in those countries which have so far done little by way of developing general schemes of assistance, some provision for children has been made—either directly or by subsidizing non-governmental organizations particularly concerned with the care of children.

The school child

111. One way of ensuring that at least those children who attend school are adequately fed and clothed is through the educational system. The provision of school meals and, less frequently, of school clothing for necessitous children is now a widely recognized means of combating the effects of family poverty.

112. If a less-developed country is prepared to devote a substantial proportion of its limited resources to improving the standard

of education of its people, it is only prudent that it should take steps to ensure that these resources are being utilized to the maximum possible advantage. However proficient the teachers, however well-equipped the school building, children who are ill-fed and insufficiently protected against the elements are not able to profit to the full from the educational opportunities made available to them; and the granting of allowances in cash or in kind to parents affords no certain guarantee that the physical needs of children will be properly met. Benefits in kind provided at school have the additional advantage of providing an incentive to regular attendance and of making it easier on economic grounds for parents to dispense with their children's labour. There is the further advantage that good nutritional habits can be inculcated in the children and, through them, passed on to their parents and other members of their families.

113. The utilization of school building, equipment and staff to provide suitable meals ensures that this form of assistance is not only effective but is capable of economical administration. Those countries where universal attendance at primary schools is not only legally compulsory but a practical reality have, therefore, an organization readily available to ensure that children of school age are adequately nourished, whatever the extent of need in the homes from which they come. All efforts by the less-developed countries to increase the numbers of children attending school, though aimed primarily at the reduction of illiteracy, simplify the task of meeting the material needs of the children and thus make it possible to ensure that the better educational standard of the rising generation is accompanied by improved health and a consequently higher productive capacity.

114. The subjection of parents to a test of financial need for the grant of free school meals and other concessions associated with the educational service can, in general, serve little purpose where the great majority of children come from poverty-stricken homes. The cost of administration of such a scheme may indeed prove to be out of all proportion to the saving secured. A more realistic test of need in these circumstances is the medical one of an adequate standard of nutrition. Where, however, the children attending a particular school are drawn from families of varying degrees of prosperity, as for example in a large town, the imposition of a test of financial need may well be justified as a prudent measure of economy.

115. Varying methods are adopted in the countries dealt with here to provide for needy school children through the medium of the educational services. The references set forth below are quoted as examples of what has been done in this field in recent years, but they should not be read as necessarily reflecting the current situation, since there is a tendency for school feeding programmes to vary from one year to another.

Bolivia

The Directorate of Social Welfare includes a department of social assistance to school children. The department originated in 1943 as a private agency, being taken over by the State in 1950. It undertakes the daily supply of about 80,000 meals consisting of cornmeal and milk, some of the milk supplied by the United Nations International Children's Fund (UNICEF) being distributed in this way. (Milk provided by UNICEF is also allocated to children's institutions and maternity clinics.) More than a quarter of the school meals provided each day are distributed to schools in La Paz from special kitchens employing a trained staff. It is claimed that the school meals service "has given good results in saving thousands of children from malnutrition and in improving school attendance". Children are also provided with school uniforms and, in the case of poor families, overalls and underclothing.

Burma

No information is available about the provision of school meals and clothing but, as part of the country's programme of free and compulsory primary education, there is a text-book loan and rental scheme by which pupils whose parents are poor can borrow books free of charge, whilst those whose parents can afford it may rent a book for one year at one-quarter of the cost-price. Maintenance grants are available on a basis of need to certain students in schools and at Rangoon University.

Ceylon

The Education Department undertakes the provision of free books and spectacles, as well as midday meals, for school children if they are considered to be in need. In 1953, the expenditure on school meals alone amounted to over 11 million rupees a year—more than the whole of the expenditure incurred in the operation of the separate public assistance and poor law schemes of the country.

Chile

The municipal authorities have set up School Assistance Boards, the main functions of which are "to arrange for the diffusion of primary education, to supervise the observance of compulsory school attendance and to institute and organize welfare services, the chief of which are the provision of school breakfasts and lunches and the distribution of clothes and shoes from school clothing supplies to combat destitution and malnutrition among the pupils". It is stated that in 1953, the municipality of Santiago was arranging for the supply each day of over 22,000 breakfasts and nearly 9,000 lunches at a total of 158 private or State schools. The city's School Assistance Board has allocated more than three quarters of its total budget to school meals as the result of a study made in 1950 which showed that "33 per cent of the children were suffering from malnutrition, were under-weight and generally below a normal physical condition, and that 20 per cent were needy children whose homes betokened obvious poverty".

Ecuador

According to information supplied by the Ministry of Education in 1950, there was a school meal service in communal and private schools in the more densely populated areas. The annual cost to the central government at that

time was the equivalent of about 70,000 U.S. dollars, the municipalities providing, in addition, about one fifth of this sum.

Egypt

It is stated²² that the Ministry of Education provides a meal for every school pupil and that, in 1948, over one million children were being assured of a full diet by this means as compared with less than 150,000 in 1942.

Japan

Educational aid is one of the specific forms of assistance provided under the Daily Life Security Law. The application of that Law ensures that pupils undergoing compulsory education who are required to pay for school lunches as well as text-books and other school equipment are enabled to do so if their parents' needs are being met under the Security Law.

Libya

Until recently, programmes for the provision of school meals and of clothing for school children in the provinces of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania were on a very small scale, being largely dependent upon income received from the Tripolitania Relief Fund Lottery. In Cyrenaica, boarding schools for the sons of Bedouin have been established and these provide maintenance without cost to the parents. Plans are now well advanced, however, for a comprehensive school feeding programme to be financed initially by UNICEF with matching government participation which, the plans provide, will be steadily increased. As will be noted from appendix I, only a comparatively small proportion of Libyan children attend schools and the programme will not, in fact, cover all schools at once. It is hoped, however, that a substantial part of the present school population will be covered in the first year of the programme and that there will be a steady increase thereafter.

The pre-school child

116. In the same way in which a country's educational service can be used to meet the material need of children of school age, so can the health service, and particularly that branch which is concerned with maternity and child welfare, be used, at least to some degree, to meet the needs of younger children. The development of maternity and child welfare clinics and, no less important, the breaking down of the instinctive reluctance of mothers in the more remote areas of the less-developed territories to make use of them, provides a means of building up the health of the pre-school child. The use of village clinics in the Fezzan province of Libya for the distribution of food and clothing to needy mothers (see para. 129 below) is an indication of the possibilities offered. There are other instances throughout the nine countries dealt with of ways in which the needs of very young children of poor parents are met, if to only a small extent, by both official and voluntary organizations, frequently as

²² Government of Egypt, Ministry of Social Affairs, *Social Welfare in Egypt*, Cairo, 1950; p. 129.

part of maternity and child welfare services. These services do not, of course, continue until the child is old enough to attend school. The existence of a gap between the upper age limit for the nutritional benefits obtained through a maternity and child welfare service and the lower age limit for attending school with its feeding facilities presents a serious medical and administrative problem. The effects of malnutrition during the early years of a child's life may be so serious as to render nugatory the benefits of subsequent school feeding. In the absence of any comprehensive scheme of assistance or family allowances to ensure that all parents have sufficient means to feed their children adequately, a system of milk distributing centres provides an economical and practical solution to the problem of ensuring that the pre-school child (or the child of school age for whom no school is available) does not suffer from the worst effects of malnutrition during its most vulnerable years. Ceylon and Japan are examples of countries which have made provision on a large scale to secure the effective nutrition of children too young to attend school. In Ceylon, a milk feeding scheme for pre-school children was begun in 1944 and there are now about 4,000 milk feeding centres in the island, with attendance at each centre varying between 25 and 300, depending on the local density of population. A centre normally caters for children within a radius of one and a half to two miles. In Japan, a government-sponsored scheme of nursery school feeding, in which the provision of milk plays an important part, was launched in 1949. It is estimated that some 350,000 pre-school children now participate in this scheme, which is correlated with educational measures to improve family diets. Milk distribution centres are also a recognized form of child welfare in Chile—the activities of voluntary organizations in that country include the maintenance of 48 such centres.

Orphans and unwanted children

117. The plight of the orphan²³ child arouses universal feelings of sympathy. Even in countries where the needs of the aged and the sick are virtually unprovided for, provision for the care of orphans is made without question. Most commonly, the care of orphans was undertaken in the first instance by religious or other voluntary organizations. Many of these organizations are now being encouraged by government subsidies to continue and to extend their care for orphans. In those rural districts where the tradition of mutual aid within the extended family or the tribe persists, the orphan child continues to be provided with a home life on the death of one or both of its parents by being absorbed into another family unit, even though the breadwinner of that unit may find it difficult to provide for the maintenance of his normal dependants.

²³ The meaning of the term "orphan" differs between countries. For the purposes of this report, it is taken to cover all children who have lost either or both parents.

118. Closely allied to the position of the orphan child is that of the unwanted child. In spite of varying legal provisions to protect the child of an irregular union or of divorced parents, in those countries where divorce is relatively easy and widespread or where the illegitimacy rate is high, there are numbers of children whose natural parents are still alive but whose position is actually no better than that of orphans; indeed, it may well be worse because the tradition of mutual aid is not likely to be so effective where the persons primarily responsible for the child's maintenance are known to be still living. The child who becomes unwanted and unprovided for at an age when, in most countries, he would still be attending school is a potential juvenile delinquent, since hunger may lead him to resort to begging and stealing. The serious social and moral consequences of large numbers of children following this way of life require no stressing. In some countries, in addition to the provision of orphanages, special establishments have been set aside for the maintenance of children in need of care and protection as a result of the complete lack or inadequacy of parental control.

Children of large families

119. One of the principal causes of need within the family unit is the number of dependants of a single breadwinner. As noted in chapter I, this factor is becoming increasingly important in a number of the less-developed countries because improved health measures leading to a decline in the infant mortality rate have not been offset by a corresponding decline in the birth rate. The problem of the family living in a state of poverty because of the large number of dependent children is not peculiar to the less-developed territories. It has been a cause of concern to governments, administrators and responsible citizens in nearly every country. Alleviation of the breadwinner's burden has been afforded in a number of ways, such as reducing income taxes on the basis of the number of dependent children, granting family allowances as part of the country's social security programme by way of social insurance or directly from the national revenue, or by legislation providing for wage adjustments based on the dependency liabilities of the employee.²⁴ These various means to remove potential need arising from the burden of maintaining dependent children can have little practical application to the less-developed countries where the great majority of the people do not pay income taxes, where only a minority of workers earn their livelihood as employees and where comprehensive schemes of social security, including social insurance, are as yet unknown or are of very limited application. Nevertheless, certain steps, if on a small scale, have already been taken in a number of less-developed territories to cope with this important aspect of the problem of need.

²⁴ For detailed information on this subject, see *Economic Measures in Favour of the Family*, United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1952.IV.6.

The various provisions for the needs of children

120. The notes set forth below give some indication of the varied arrangements which have been made in the countries under consideration to meet the special needs of children, including orphans and unwanted children, other than through educational programmes.

Bolivia

Two factors seem to have resulted in special attention being given to the needs of children in a country where the general provision for the needy is, in practice, very limited. Firstly, there are no legal means of enforcing the claim of a child to be maintained by its parents, except where the mother has been given custody of children as the result of a legal divorce or separation. Secondly, as a consequence of the war with Paraguay, the Government became conscious of the need to make some provision for orphaned children and the National Children's Board (now the Children's Department of the Directorate of Social Welfare) was set up. The system of orphans' allowances "payable until the children reach the age of 18 or until they marry or obtain public employment" is apparently limited to children orphaned by war or revolution. Most of the children's homes²⁵ are maintained by religious or other voluntary organizations but derive the bulk of their funds from government or municipal subsidies which are made on a capitation basis.

A system of family allowances is now in operation for persons employed in the manufacturing, mining, construction and petroleum industries. The allowance is payable for each dependent child between the ages of one and sixteen years. The system is financed from the National Compensation Fund, to which employers are required to contribute 13 per cent of the total salaries and wages paid. The family allowance is normally paid to the father. The scheme has recently been extended to provide a "nursing allowance" in the case of an insured woman or the wife of an insured man for each child under 12 months. The relevant decree provides that the allowance shall preferably be supplied in the form of milk products or other foods.

Legislation on juvenile offenders, enacted in 1937, provides that juveniles found begging may be detained and sent to an institution.

Burma

Government action in providing for material assistance for needy children, whether orphans, unwanted children or children of large families, is limited in the main to the subsidization on a small scale of voluntary homes for orphans and waifs and strays. There are over 60 welfare organizations in Rangoon, and a large proportion of these are concerned with the needs of children, including abandoned infants, orphans and juvenile delinquents. There is no system of family allowances, but government clerical workers and employees of certain of the larger industrial undertakings receive maternity benefits. The number of employees entitled to these benefits constitutes a very small proportion of the total number of employed workers. A limited amount of assistance for mothers and children in the urban areas is provided by the maternal and child health centres of which there are some 150. Among their other activities, these centres distribute milk, soap and items of clothing to families in need.

²⁵ For detailed notes on institutional accommodation, see appendix III.

Ceylon

A number of children leading a normal family life are assisted through their parents by way of dependants' allowances under the public assistance scheme operating outside the municipalities of Colombo, Kandy and Galle or under the poor law schemes of those three cities; other children under 16 years of age who are "deprived of the help of their parents" but live as members of households are similarly assisted. Under an ordinance of 1941, the Government has accepted responsibility for the care of orphans. A total of 63 orphanages, providing accommodation for nearly 5,000 children are maintained by religious and other voluntary organizations, the Government paying a capitation grant for each child of 20 rupees a month (more than the allowance for a dependent child under either the public assistance or poor law schemes). These orphanages are subject to government regulation and inspection. In addition, there are 41 other voluntary institutions, concerned with the care and protection of children and adolescent girls, which also receive grants from central government funds.

An unusual feature in Ceylon is the special legislation applying to the estates employing Tamil²⁶ labour. Some of this legislation is concerned with the needs of mothers and children and imposes upon the superintendents of estates the obligation "to supply every female labourer giving birth to a child with sufficient food and lodging for one month after birth" and also "to see that children under the age of one year receive proper care and nourishment".

Chile

The high but decreasing rate of illegitimacy (nearly 20 per cent of live births in 1952 are stated to have been illegitimate) and the frequency of broken homes due to desertion by the father, have resulted in special attention being given to the care of children deprived of a normal home life. There is a Directorate-General for the Protection of Children and Young Persons, which is now amalgamated with the National Health Service. In addition, an independent self-governing corporation known as the *Consejo de Defensa del Niño* (National Council for the Protection of Children) has been set up. The various services of the National Council cover assistance in one form or another to 7,000 children and include "family assistance" by way of rent grants, clothing and the redemption of pawned articles to a comparatively small number of families. The National Council is very largely financed by the central government, but it owns a certain amount of property. There are nearly 50 homes for orphans or destitute children, as well as over 100 establishments "for the protection of minors" maintained by various voluntary organizations, most of which receive a subsidy from the Ministry of Finance. There is also the National Children's Home for orphans and abandoned children which includes a boarding establishment, a child guidance clinic and a children's family placement service. Children whose parents are not in a position to discharge their parental obligations are subject to the provisions of the Act for the Protection of Minors, under the terms of which they may be placed under the guardianship of the Juvenile Court judges who are empowered to commit them to the care of a welfare institution. One ground for the deprivation of parental power is allowing a child to become a vagrant or beggar.

Family allowances for employed workers (but not for self-employed persons) were introduced in 1953 as part of the country's social insurance scheme. These

²⁶ See para. 41 above.

allowances, which also include the applicant's wife and parents, extend to all children up to the age of 15, or beyond that age if they are disabled or continuing their education. The cost of family allowances is being defrayed initially by a levy on employers equivalent to 13 per cent of those wages which are subject to social insurance contributions, together with a payment by the worker of 2 per cent of the same figure. Because Chile is more highly industrialized than most less-developed territories and consequently has a higher proportion of employed workers, this development is of considerable practical significance.

Ecuador

The orphan and the illegitimate and unwanted child constitute a serious problem. The burden of child maintenance accounts for the fact that "many needy families have resorted to the practice of sending their children to well-to-do homes as servants, in order to improve their position". It is said that, in some cases, this practice has reached the extent of the "giving away" of children on the excuse of lack of means to feed them. It is therefore not surprising that developments in the social welfare field initiated by the central government as well as by voluntary organizations are largely concerned with the needs of children. One of the provisions of the Constitution is that "The State shall establish suitable conditions for the protection and development of children below the age of fourteen years in need of family and economic protection". The position of children is more specifically covered in the Minors' Code, which provides that "Every minor shall be entitled to State assistance and care, without regard to his family and economic conditions and such care shall especially be extended to minors, morally, legally and materially deserted, orphans, destitute, maladjusted, dangerous, abnormal, mentally deficient persons, etc." The Code also empowers Children's Courts to ensure that "Minors are supplied with food by their parents or any person responsible therefor in accordance with the law" and also "to take any action which would contribute to the protection of minors, with the zealous care which would be given by a good father".

In practice, the principal provision for the needs of children appears to be that made through the Directorate-General of Child Welfare Homes. The Directorate is responsible for some 30 establishments, concerned with the care and maintenance of children, including 17 crèches or day nurseries where mothers can leave their children while at work.

In 1952, Ecuador introduced a scheme for placing children in foster homes. The scheme, which so far operates on a very small scale, is limited to children who have lost their father or mother, or both, or whose parents are mentally or physically incapable of taking care of them. Two other small-scale schemes, both largely concerned with the needs of children living with their parents in their own homes, have been started within the last few years; these are the Social Workers' Service and the Workers' Welfare Service. One of the functions of the former is "to receive requests for any kind of assistance closely connected with the duty of caring for and educating children in their own homes or institutions". The aim of the Workers' Welfare Service is "to help to improve conditions as they affect the worker". In the course of fulfilling this task, the Service has intervened to prevent children continuing in unsuitable employment. Whenever it has been recommended that the employment should cease, an attempt has been made to provide an alternative source of income by finding work for other members of the family "or by properly supervised family allowances". The two services, which share a common budget, appear to be hampered in their activities by inadequate funds.

Egypt

A limited number of children receive assistance in their own homes under the non-contributory pension scheme, either as dependants of widows or as orphans (the term here covers children whose fathers have remarried or whose parents are unknown). As explained in paragraph 164 below, different upper age limits for entitlement to a pension are set for boys and girls. A few children also benefit by the social assistance scheme which, in certain circumstances, provides temporary assistance for families in which the breadwinner is totally disabled or imprisoned or the mother is deserted or divorced. Many of the very large number of voluntary organizations in Egypt are concerned with the care of children and it has been estimated that there are some 7,000 children maintained in orphanages and similar establishments.

Iran

The social insurance scheme, which applies only to certain employed workers, was extended in 1953 to include family allowances "at the rate of seven per cent of the minimum wage of the ordinary workman for the third child and twelve per cent for the fourth child". Outside of insurance, assistance for children is limited to the provision of orphanages and similar establishments and to a limited amount of help to needy families provided by charitable organizations.

The Municipal Act provides for the establishment of nurseries and orphanages for indigent children and also prescribes severe measures in cases of child neglect. The Municipality of Tehran maintains an orphanage and also a nursery for children up to the age of seven. In Tehran, too, is the Aminabad Centre for the Care of the Needy under the joint supervision of the Ministry of Labour and the Municipality. This Centre (discussed further in para. 135 below) has a separate section for children over seven years of age which, in the summer of 1953, accommodated over 400 children.

Prominent among the charitable organizations concerned with needy children is the Imperial Charity Foundation which includes among its objects the care for the health of poor children and children without guardians; the provision of shelter and education for vagrant children and the prevention of the performance by children of work unsuitable for their age. Among a variety of activities, the Foundation has established the Workers Club providing residential accommodation for 1,500 children in Tehran as well as five dispensaries in the same city for the provision of assistance to indigent mothers and children. These dispensaries make a bi-weekly distribution of rice, sugar, dried milk, soap and towels, and coal to some 2,000 families.

The Red Lion and Sun Society of Iran is also concerned with the care of needy children. The Society maintains ten orphanages (only one of which is in Tehran) as well as five maternity welfare centres in the capital which act as distributing points for food and clothing for needy nursing and expectant mothers and their children. Because of what is stated to be the increasing problem of child neglect, the Society has also undertaken the provision of two kindergartens in which the children of working families can be adequately cared for and supervised.

An independent institution, the Shahpur Orphanage, provides for the accommodation and education of "orphans unable to pay for this accommodation". Boys and girls are housed in separate modern buildings, at a total annual cost of 2,000,000 rials. Within the last few years, a recreational centre for poor children has been set up in the Municipal Park of Tehran, including a dispensary which

provides tonics and dried milk; children's clothing and food is distributed from the centre from time to time.

Japan

There is a separate Child Welfare Law, but provision for the material wants of children living as members of families in need is made through the scheme of public assistance administered under the Daily Life Security Law which includes additional allowances for the maintenance of dependent children as well as "educational aid". There is a very large number of private and public establishments providing accommodation for some thousands of children, including special homes for afflicted children and for juvenile delinquents as well as a system of foster homes.

Libya

The problem of unwanted children has been aggravated by wartime conditions and the post-war difficulties of the country, as well as by the succession of bad harvests as a result of drought, when boys in the more heavily stricken rural districts have been encouraged to leave home and fend for themselves. Very limited institutional accommodation for Arab children is made in the "mixed" poor houses in Tripoli, Misurata and Benghazi. There is also a small separate orphanage in Benghazi. Begging and other forms of juvenile delinquency among homeless boys in Tripoli led to the establishment soon after the end of the Second World War, of a well-disciplined re-educational centre some distance from the city which is serving the purpose of meeting the moral, material and educational needs of a number of boys who might otherwise permanently acquire anti-social habits. More recently, a further re-educational centre for boys, with accommodation for more than 400, has been opened in the city itself. An institution on similar lines for girls considered to be "in moral danger" has also been set up on the outskirts of the capital. A number of orphanages, mainly for the benefit of the Italian community, are maintained by Roman Catholic organizations in Tripoli and other towns in Tripolitania.

WIDOWS, DESERTED AND DIVORCED WIVES

121. Most schemes of social insurance make provision for the payment of a pension or some other benefit to a widow, irrespective of whether or not she has any dependent children. Where assistance is concerned, however, unless the widow is too old or too infirm to work, she is not likely to receive continuing help, even in countries with comprehensive schemes of assistance, if she has no dependent children. The deserted or divorced wife is unable to benefit through her husband's social insurance and her entitlement to assistance is usually subject to the same considerations as that of a widow, with the additional condition that she will, in general, be required to exercise whatever legal rights she may have against her husband or former husband for maintenance. Indeed, the assistance in her case may take the form of legal aid to help her to enforce those rights. In those districts where the principle of mutual aid within the community or extended family is observed, the widow, and to a lesser extent, the deserted or divorced wife who has not been guilty of a matrimonial offence, can ordinarily expect to receive help

in some form or other from her relatives. The information on the position of widows, deserted and divorced wives set forth below is drawn from the various country monographs.

Bolivia

Outside of the field of social insurance, a distinction is made between war (or revolution) widows and other widows. The war widow has a legal entitlement to a continuing allowance (apparently without a test of need) but there appears to be little or no provision for other widows, regardless of whether or not they have children. It is stated that one of the results of the modification of the Constitution sanctioning *de facto* unions is that widows with allowances enter into such unions rather than legal marriages in order to preserve their entitlement to the allowance. The deserted wife is under the handicap of not being able to receive maintenance from her husband except under certain conditions (see para. 47 above).

Burma

The provision made for widows is at present limited to the workmen's compensation legislation, which covers only a very small proportion of the working population; but a wife is able to enforce her claim to be maintained by her husband in the civil and criminal courts (see para. 47 above).

Ceylon

Payments under the Workmen's Compensation Ordinance are made to widows in certain circumstances, but the poor law schemes operating in Colombo, Kandy and Galle do not specifically include the widow or deserted wife except in so far as she is physically or mentally infirm or incapacitated. On the other hand, the public assistance scheme operating in other parts of Ceylon includes the following provisions:

(a) Widows with dependent children, if, in order to attend to their children or on account of physical disability, they are unable to work to support themselves and their children;

(b) Women deserted by their husbands or deprived of their help owing to incurable illness, imprisonment or other similar cause, if, in order to attend to their own children or on account of physical disability, they are unable to work to support themselves and their children.

Chile

The social insurance scheme has recently been extended to include widows' pensions but, outside of this scheme, provision for the needs of widows is very limited and there is no system of continuing allowances for them or for deserted wives (desertion is stated to be much more common than divorce among the poorer section of the community). Public and private agencies recognize widows and deserted wives with small children as coming within the categories of persons for whom assistance should be provided, but the assistance is limited to such items as free or low-rented housing, supplementary food or medicines, clothing, accommodation of children in holiday camps, education and free meals in day nurseries; "occasional cash grants" are also mentioned. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul maintains several housing blocks to provide accommodation and shelter for "widows or deserted wives with small children" as well as for other destitute families.

Ecuador

Excluding the social insurance scheme, provision for widows is restricted to Quito, where, it is said, "social assistance" is available. The Social Workers Service (see para. 120 above) is described as working "mainly through professional social care of families who need it, unmarried mothers, widows or deserted women who are destitute".

Egypt

The separate non-contributory pension and social assistance schemes distinguish between the widows with dependent children and those without; entitlement to a pension is limited to the former, unless she qualifies as a totally disabled person or as an old person (over 65). Widows under 65 without dependent children may be able to get some help from the more restricted social assistance scheme, as also may divorced and deserted wives. The Egyptian social assistance scheme affords an example of a deserted or divorced wife being helped to obtain maintenance by her husband or former husband, as the result of the intervention of the authorities to which she has applied for assistance.

Iran

No special provision for the needs of widows as such appears to be made by either governmental or non-governmental organizations outside the limited field of social insurance; similarly, no provision is made for deserted or divorced wives.

Japan

Widows with minor children constitute one of the categories of persons entitled to receive assistance under the Daily Life Security Law. Although other widows and deserted or divorced wives who are in need are not excluded from the scope of that Law, it appears that, in practice, their claims for assistance are regarded as being less strong than those of widows with young children, unless they are over the age of 60 or physically handicapped. Widows whose husbands were insured are able to benefit from the social insurance scheme.

Libya

Outside Tripoli, assistance for widows, deserted and divorced wives is virtually non-existent. In Tripoli, an Arab widow is only able to derive benefit under the present discriminatory insurance scheme if her husband died as the result of an industrial accident or disease, whereas an Italian widow may benefit under other sections of the scheme if her husband died from natural causes. Other widows in Tripoli, as well as deserted and divorced wives, may succeed in obtaining free rations and possibly a small cash allowance through the poor card system.

THE AGED

122. Except in times of widespread unemployment, provision against loss of income in old age represents the major social security problem in the more developed and industrialized countries and has tended to become increasingly important in recent years. This situation is due to a variety of factors, including increased longevity resulting from improved health measures which (except where it is

offset by an increasing birth rate) gives rise to a higher proportion of old people in the population; the custom of large-scale employers to "retire" their workers at an arbitrary age of, say, 60 or 65; and the decline in some countries of the assumption by adult sons and daughters of responsibility for the care and maintenance of their aged parents—a decline which is accentuated by an increasing degree of physical separation between the generations due to greater mobility. In countries where social insurance or employers' provident schemes are of comparatively recent date, many old people will not have derived any benefit from them, either because they retired before the schemes came into operation or because they have been unable to satisfy the usual condition as to payment of contributions for a minimum number of years. During recent years also, the problem of the provision for old age has been rendered more difficult in many countries by the position of those elderly men and women who were relying on their savings to provide for their old age but who now find themselves in need because these savings have depreciated in value as a result of war or post-war inflation.

123. In the less-developed territories the considerations are of a somewhat different character. Increased longevity accompanied by a decline in fertility, leading to a higher proportion of old people among the population, has not as yet emerged as a feature of less-developed countries generally. A "retiring age" has no significance to a peasant who, as long as he is physically able to do so, continues to cultivate his land or raise his animals. It is true that schemes of social insurance now tend to increase in number and scope in the less-developed countries, but this expansion has very limited immediate or potential effect in rural areas where a peasant economy prevails. The question of depreciation of savings is not a real one in relation to the peasant or unskilled manual worker in a less-developed country because he has little or no opportunity to accumulate savings. Finally, the system of mutual aid within the extended family, the tribe and the community is still of very considerable practical significance as it concerns responsibility for the care of old people.

124. In those of the countries covered by this report in which there is no general scheme of assistance allowances and where some old people are obliged to look beyond their family or local community for help, this help usually takes the form of maintenance in an institution provided by a religious organization or other voluntary body. The following monograph extracts and notes indicate briefly the situation in each of the nine countries:

Bolivia

"There are no social or mental health agencies for the aged who, at most, are provided with satisfactory shelter, no attention being given to the social, economic and cultural implications of the problem... The only institutions that concern themselves with the aged poor are the Roman Catholic shelters

and some Salvation Army agencies... Their community system also enables the Indians to look after their disabled, blind... infirm and aged members within the family or the community with very little recourse to aid from the towns... Old age is not one of the conditions for the receipt of benefits or assistance."

Burma

"The family system in Burma is such that, so long as the head of the family is able to earn, all his relatives will depend on him to the fullest extent that he can afford. When he grows old and becomes incapable of earning any more, it is the duty of one of his relatives to support him. Hence, aged people are not usually regarded as needy. The liability for maintaining these people falls on their relatives rather than on the Government or on other citizens. This explains why we have only three homes for aged people: one run by the Government, one run privately and one run by Christian missionaries, the total maximum capacity of these homes being about 500."

Ceylon

"In Ceylon the care of the aged has not been an irksome burden on the family because of the high sense of family obligation that prevails here. With the progressive weakening of the family tie and the paling sense of family obligation, the problem appears to have increased in size and proportion today. Voluntary agencies have endeavoured to find a solution to the problem of the aged by providing indoor relief to such persons in homes for the aged. These homes are mainly in urban areas, where there are persons of wealth and leisure who are in a position to undertake the provision of services of this type. Apart from collections from private sources, the voluntary agencies depend largely on government and local authorities for financial assistance. The institutional care of the aged provided by voluntary agencies, however, has been found to be inadequate in relation to the demand and the Government, therefore, assists voluntary effort by granting subsidies where they are urgently needed. Government policy in regard to homes for the aged hitherto had been to assist, by means of grants, existing homes which are financed by private subscription and run by voluntary agencies. It has now become necessary for the State to actively enter the field of institutional relief for the aged, and two State homes have been opened. The intention of the Government is to start a similar institution in each of the nine provinces of the island."

The aged and infirm are among the needy classes of people covered by the public assistance and poor law schemes. The municipality of Colombo, which maintains an institution for old people accommodating some 200 men and women, has defined "aged and infirm" for poor law purposes as "males over 60 years of age and females over 55 years of age".

Chile

The main social security provision against old age is under the country's social insurance scheme. It is recorded that, under this scheme, the old age pension, which has hitherto been very small, has recently been increased to the same rate as the total disability benefit. There are twenty-five homes for the aged maintained by non-governmental organizations with the aid of government subsidies.

Ecuador

Apart from old age pensions under the national insurance scheme for employees, provision is limited to a small number of homes for the aged in Quito and certain of the provincial capitals.

Egypt

The outstanding feature of the Egyptian non-contributory pension scheme is that it bestows a legal entitlement to a pension, subject to a test of need, on all persons over the age of 65 (excluding a woman living with a husband under that age). There are over 50 establishments, most of them non-governmental, providing residential accommodation, wholly or partially for old people.

Iran

There is no reference to any provision for old people as such and it appears that in the case of those old persons in need who do not come under the social insurance scheme, their only source of assistance (outside the family or tribe) is in the form of occasional gifts from the various voluntary organizations or the provision of accommodation in a general institution, such as the Aminabad Centre for the Care of the Needy in Tehran.

Japan

Persons over the age of 60 account for the second largest group (approximately 19 per cent of the total) of all recipients of assistance under the Daily Life Security Law, notwithstanding the existence of the social insurance scheme which includes old age among the contingencies covered. In addition, there are over 300 public and private "protective" institutions providing accommodation for old people.

Libya

A small number of old people living in Tripoli are able to secure "poor cards" and thus obtain free rations and in some instances a small cash allowance. Institutional accommodation for aged Arab men and women is limited to two mixed poor houses in Tripolitania and one in Benghazi; a Roman Catholic organization in Tripoli maintains a small old people's home for the Italian community.

THE PHYSICALLY AND MENTALLY HANDICAPPED

125. The proportion of physically and mentally handicapped people in the less-developed countries is, in general, higher than in other countries, partly because of the very limited medical services available and partly because the prevalent way of life, aggravated in some instances by climatic conditions, tends to give rise to diseases which leave permanent afflictions in their train. An outstanding example of this is blindness arising from trachoma, which is a scourge of many countries of the Middle East, including Egypt and Libya. The incidence of blindness is particularly serious in the latter country, where the medical service has been practically non-existent until recent years and is still very inadequate. It is true that mental and physical handicaps do not always give rise to the same degree of relative need in countries where the main source of

livelihood is the cultivation of the family plot of land, since, like the aged, the quite severely disabled can frequently take some share in the family occupations, whereas they would be very unlikely to be engaged by an employer. On the other hand, the plight of a severely handicapped person can be serious in the extreme in a country where the great majority of able-bodied people can do no more than maintain life on a bare subsistence level and where, therefore, the practical application of precepts of mutual aid are necessarily only partially effective. The prevalence of blind and crippled beggars in the larger cities and main highways of many of the less-developed countries is an outward manifestation of the problem.

126. Whether or not there is a general scheme of assistance for the needy, nearly all the countries with which this report is concerned have attempted to make some provision for the blind and, to a lesser extent, those with other physical or mental handicaps, although this provision is in the main quite inadequate in relation to the size of the problem. It is significant, also, that nearly every country, including those in which social insurance against old age, sickness or invalidity has not yet been introduced, has some form of workmen's compensation or employer's liability legislation to protect the interests of those who sustain permanent disability whilst working for an employer. Such legislation is, in general, applicable only to a small minority of the working population and is usually limited to manual workers only.

127. Information, drawn from the country monographs, on the position of the physically handicapped in the nine countries dealt with is set forth below.

Bolivia

A voluntary organization for the care of the visually handicapped was established in 1932. The work of this organization led to the setting up, twelve years later, of a National Department of Rehabilitation attached to the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare. This department is responsible for assistance to the blind, the deaf and the mentally deficient. There are five schools for the blind, one school for deaf children and one for mentally retarded children. Apart from this programme and activities of such international organizations as the Rotary Club and the Disabled Children's Fund on behalf of crippled children, there are no other organizations especially concerned with the needs of handicapped persons.

Burma

A figure of 285,000 is given as a rough estimate of the number of physically handicapped people in Burma; about one half of this number are cripples. Governmental provision for the needs of the permanently disabled is limited to the subsidization of institutions maintained by voluntary organizations, including two schools for the blind (one controlled by a Buddhist monk) and a school for the deaf and dumb in Rangoon. Until recently, more than one half of the

Government subsidies to voluntary organizations has been for the maintenance of leprosy shelters and colonies.

Ceylon

"The principle that after-care for deaf and blind persons is the responsibility of the State has been accepted. Traditionally, the deaf and blind have been the object of charity in a country where charity has been greatly emphasized by religious teachings as a means of acquiring merit. The State made little provision for the deaf and blind until 1949. The only provision that had been made up to that time consisted of granting public assistance under the general assistance schemes."

"A great pioneering work has been done by two religious institutions in running schools for the deaf and blind with the object of making these handicapped people useful citizens... In 1949, the State began to take an active part in the welfare of these people by bearing the financial responsibility for the workshops for skilled deaf and blind workers. Under the home-workers scheme, the deaf and blind are being assisted to carry on their trades in their own homes by supplying them with raw materials and marketing the finished products."

There is now a general scheme to provide vocational training in a workshop making and fitting artificial limbs and other prosthetic appliances which is attached to the orthopaedic clinic in Colombo. Here "the trainees are paid subsistence allowances during this training period so as to prevent them and their families from falling into destitution. Whenever possible, the orthopaedic clinic will absorb some of the persons who have successfully completed their training and arrangements will be made for the others to be given priority in finding suitable employment through the Government Employment Exchange".

Chile

Apart from the benefits of the social insurance scheme available to certain employees and self-employed persons, direct governmental provision is limited to various establishments which were formerly controlled by the Central Board for Charities and Social Assistance and which now come under the administration of the National Health Service. These establishments include a psychiatric hospital. Among the non-governmental organizations which are maintained by subsidies from the central government or municipalities are a school for deaf mutes and a school for blind and deaf mutes as well as various societies for the blind. The *Sociedad Pro-Ayuda al Niño Lisiado* (Society for Aiding the Crippled Child), established in 1947, is concerned with the development of services for all types of crippled children. In 1950, this society founded the *Instituto de Rehabilitación Infantil* (Institute for Child Rehabilitation), which initiated a service for the physically handicapped in Chile.

Ecuador

One of the Articles of the Constitution provides that "For citizens of Ecuador the following special safeguards shall be established... The right of disabled persons to receive means of subsistence from the State, provided that they are in need of the same, so long as they are incapable of obtaining them by their labour and so long as there exists no person who would be legally obliged and in a position to provide them". In practice, however, little or no provision for the special needs of disabled persons appears to be made either by governmental

or non-governmental organizations. One of the functions of the public assistance organization of the Ministry of Social Welfare is described as the "assistance and care of the insane" but information is not available as to the way in which this function is carried out in practice.

Egypt

One of the four categories of persons who are entitled to assistance under the non-contributory pension scheme is described as "totally disabled persons, including the blind, between 17 and 65 years". Moreover, provision is made in the scheme for totally disabled children up to the age of 17 who are either "orphans" or "children of widows". Totally disabled persons over the age of 65 are, of course, included in the general category of old people entitled to apply for a pension. Totally disabled breadwinners may be granted help under the social assistance scheme "while awaiting the award of a pension"; the assistance scheme, unlike the pensions scheme, also extends to partially disabled breadwinners. The Ministry of Education maintains institutes for the blind and for deaf and dumb children, and there is a Government workshop for blind adults. Institutions for the blind are also provided by a non-governmental organization, the Egyptian Association for the Welfare of the Blind, and by other voluntary bodies. In 1952, the Government, with assistance from the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation, established a demonstration centre with a complete programme for the education and rehabilitation of blind children and adults in Cairo. In 1941 a voluntary organization, the Hospital Day Association, was established for the purpose of providing rehabilitation services for physically handicapped persons. While services for the blind are still given priority in Egypt, the Government has lately taken steps to initiate services for other types of handicapped persons. Under the terms of the Social Security Act of 1950, "The Ministry of Social Affairs, in agreement with the ministries and associations concerned, shall take measures for the setting up of institutes and schools necessary for the rehabilitation and vocational training of the disabled". A rehabilitation section was established in 1952 in the Social Security Department of the Ministry of Social Affairs. Two rehabilitation offices providing guidance for various types of handicapped persons except the blind and mentally deficient were established in Cairo and Alexandria. Rehabilitation centres for the physically handicapped are in the process of being established.

Iran

Direct government provision appears to be limited to the maintenance in Tehran of two mental hospitals and the general shelter (the Aminabad Centre) for the needy, including the disabled. It is stated that the sick and drug addicts are treated and then trained for work within the Centre and that the rehabilitation of the disabled is also attempted. Among the subsidized non-governmental organizations which concern themselves with the disabled is the Imperial Charity Foundation, which maintains a 150-bed centre in Tehran "for the care of indigent victims of accidents" and also a "club", providing residential accommodation for 500 disabled and incapacitated persons. The Red Lion and Sun Society includes among its activities the provision of artificial limbs for indigent persons.

Japan

Physically handicapped persons are covered by the scheme of public assistance under the Daily Life Security Law, and at the end of 1952, nearly 20,000 such

persons were being assisted. The Japanese Society for Crippled Children, established before the Second World War, has been the pioneer in promoting services for the handicapped in Japan. The Society, which was inactive during the war, in 1952 established a hospital and rehabilitation centres for crippled children in Tokyo. It is also assisting the Government in carrying out a programme, initiated after the war, with the special aim of mobilizing community interest and participation in assistance for crippled children. The government services are under the direction of the Children's Bureau of the Ministry of Health and Welfare as part of the general maternal and child health programme. Since 1949, mobile clinics have been in operation under the joint sponsorship of the Children's Bureau and the Japanese Society for Crippled Children. These clinics and the health centres located in various parts of the country refer children in need of special services to the hospital and rehabilitation centre mentioned above or to one of the ten homes and hospital centres for crippled children. Under the Law for the Welfare of Disabled Persons of 1949, responsibility for the rehabilitation of handicapped adults rests with the Rehabilitation Section of the Ministry of Health and Welfare. There is a rehabilitation office in each prefecture. A new centre for handicapped adults was established in 1953 in Tokyo; here physical and vocational rehabilitation is provided by the Ministry of Health and Welfare, preference being given to disabled ex-servicemen.

Libya

Mainly because of the very high incidence of blindness (a sample enquiry suggests that this may be in the neighbourhood of 3 per cent for the population as a whole and of 15 per cent for people over 60), there are probably relatively more physically handicapped people in Libya than in most other countries. As yet, however, little or no provision has been made for them.

THE SICK

128. Sickness, whether due to an illness of short duration, such as influenza, or to a more serious and lasting complaint, such as tuberculosis, inevitably results in need arising from a loss of income if the sick person is normally self-supporting. If he is the sole or main breadwinner of a family, the consequent need is that much more serious. Medical and cash benefits in the event of temporary sickness have always been a prominent feature of social insurance schemes and, in fact, many such schemes were in the first instance limited to this short-term contingency in connexion with industrial accidents and disease. For reasons suggested earlier in this report, compensation for loss of income through temporary sickness does not have the same significance in a predominantly peasant country as it has in a country where cash wages constitute the most common source of livelihood—the greater need of the peasant and his family is for an adequate medical service. But it follows from the interrelation of sickness and poverty that medical assistance, whether in the form of preventive measures, out-patient or in-patient treatment, is of primary importance not only for purely medical reasons but also because of the economic and social consequences of sickness. That this is generally recognized is evidenced by the fact that in a number

of countries where there is not, as yet, any real scheme to provide continuing subsistence in cash or kind for the needy, a great deal has been done to provide medical assistance. Where this assistance covers free in-patient care in a hospital, subsistence for the patient himself is, of course, provided, but if he is the family breadwinner, his dependants may be left to fend for themselves.

129. In some countries the provision of subsistence in cash or kind for the sick person and his family is closely linked with the medical treatment and is, indeed, regarded as part thereof, but more usually the subsistence needs of the sick are covered by a general scheme of assistance for persons in need for other reasons. The notes which follow give some indication of the extent of the provision for medical and subsistence needs in the countries with which this report is concerned.

Bolivia

The State medical services include the maintenance of over 60 public hospitals with a total of more than 5,000 beds. By 1954, nearly 800 doctors were being employed by the Ministry of Health. Medical services are also provided by social insurance agencies as well as by employers who have large numbers of workers. In addition, dispensaries are provided under the United States Point Four programme.

Burma

There is no test of need in connexion with the health services, medical treatment, including medicines, being given without charge to all hospital out-patients. In practice, the shortage of doctors (it is estimated that there is only one doctor for every 15 to 20,000 people) and nurses precludes the setting up of an adequate medical service throughout the country and such services as are available are confined to the larger towns. People in the rural areas have at present no health service available to them and they resort to local herbalists (*sesayas*) and "handy women" (*letthis*).

Ceylon

Free medical treatment is provided in all government hospitals, dispensaries and clinics whenever the patient's income is below a certain level. The categories of persons who are entitled to receive subsistence allowances under the public assistance scheme include the sick; similarly, the terms of the ordinance under which the municipalities of Colombo, Kandy and Galle operate poor law schemes are wide enough to cover the sick in those towns. A development of unusual interest and importance is the introduction, in 1953, of a central government scheme for the payment of special allowances to needy tubercular persons and their dependants with the object of "compensating for loss of earnings during treatment and thus encouraging early and complete treatment". The level of these tubercular allowances (including the additions for dependants) is considerably above that of the amounts payable under either the public assistance or municipal poor law schemes. The tuberculosis allowances, which are financed entirely from central government funds, are granted irrespective of place of residence; that is, they are payable in the three municipalities as well as in the rest of the country. In addition to recognizing the special nutri-

tional and other needs of tubercular persons, the allowances take account of the importance of safeguarding the powers of resistance of other members of the family against the risk of infection.

Chile

The National Health Service, which in 1950 absorbed the various medical institutions belonging to the Compulsory Insurance Fund is described as "responsible for all matters connected with medical assistance for insured persons and their families". The Health Units which now form part of the Service provide "indigent persons" with free milk, but it is understood that in practice this provision is limited to children under two years of age.

Ecuador

As pointed out in paragraph 83 above, a free medical service is provided under the Public Assistance Decree of 1950, although it seems probable that in practice the service is limited to the larger towns. The municipal councils for each canton provide their own medical service which is described as consisting "almost exclusively of making out prescriptions and, with rare exceptions, of providing inexpensive medicines free of cost". In the case of the municipality of Guayaquil, a hospital service is also provided, the cost being met from the proceeds of a lottery which is legally permitted in this canton only. The Ecuadorean Anti-Tuberculosis League is probably the most important medico-social organization in the country, but its activities appear to be mainly concerned with the maintenance of a sanatorium, hospital and dispensary. The League does, however, give a limited amount of assistance in the form of allowances for the purchase of food and for the provision of "cloth, wool and other materials for work in occupational therapy".

Egypt

The publication *Social Welfare in Egypt*, issued by the Ministry of Social Affairs, states (p. 127) that, in accordance with governmental policy of ensuring free medical treatment for every individual, the Law on the Improvement of Village Health provides for the creation of a Health Unit for every 30,000 people; maternity and child welfare occupies an important place in these units. Under the social assistance scheme now in operation, in addition to allowances to pregnant and nursing women, assistance can be afforded where there is "illness of individuals or heads of the families, with or without children, and illness of any other members of the families for not less than one month".

Iran

The functions of the Ministry of Health as defined in an act of 1945, include the provision of free medical assistance and care to persons unable to pay for treatment. The implementation of the country's public health programme is handicapped by the lack of qualified doctors and nurses. In Tehran, the Ministry of Education provides medical treatment by means of five dispensaries. Included among the activities of the Imperial Charity Foundation is "the provision of organized home care for the indigent sick and of medical aid and assistance to persons in their charge". Similarly, the Red Lion and Sun Society devotes some of its substantial resources to giving assistance in various forms to sick persons, as well as to pregnant and nursing women.

Japan

It is estimated that nearly 45 million people (i.e., more than half the population) are covered for medical care through sickness insurance. In addition, the provision of medical aid is specifically provided for in the Daily Life Security Law. As a result, persons who, under the terms of the Law, are regarded as being in need, are able to receive free medical treatment, including, where necessary, maintenance in a hospital. At the end of 1952, nearly 120,000 persons, representing some 17 per cent of all recipients of assistance under the Daily Life Security Law, received such assistance on account of injury or illness.

Libya

Out-patient treatment at the dispensaries which cater, in a necessarily limited way, to the medical needs of the larger centres of population is given without charge and without a means test. Patients in the very large general hospital in Tripoli are expected to contribute towards the cost on the basis of ability to pay, and almoners are employed for this purpose. In practice, comparatively few patients are able to make any payment. Under the French administration of the Fezzan, before Libya gained its independence at the end of 1951, the village dispensaries were used as relief centres, the doctors in charge distributing food and clothing to the poorer women with infant children. In addition to minimizing the ever-present danger of serious malnutrition which exists in the Fezzan, this action had the additional advantage of inducing the women to overcome their reluctance to submit themselves and their children to medical examination.

WAR VICTIMS

130. As in many other countries, there are people in Burma, Ceylon, Japan and Libya who still suffer from the direct consequences of the Second World War, either as the result of personal disablement or as the surviving dependants of persons who were killed. In addition, Bolivia has among its population victims of the war with Paraguay, as well as of the several revolutions which have occurred during recent years. Such persons have apparently been put in a specially privileged position in that they "are entitled to request assistance" under legislation adopted in 1935, 1942 and 1952; an entitlement which does not exist for any other members of the community. As regards the dependants of persons who have been killed in revolutions, the relevant monograph notes "the victims of earlier revolutions are displaced by their successors and so receive no State assistance". Burma and Libya have made no special provision for the victims of the Second World War, but in 1948, Burma set up a Ministry of Relief and Resettlement "for the purpose of relieving the temporary sufferings of the refugees and displaced persons who have been made homeless or destitute because of the insurgency". Ceylon has adopted a scheme of rehabilitation and resettlement of war-disabled, including the provision of artificial limbs and the payment of resettlement grants for the purpose of establishing disabled persons in suitable occupations. In 1952, Japan enacted special legislation, the Law for Relief of Bereaved

Families due to War, concerned with the provision of assistance for persons affected by the war. As already noted in paragraph 127 above, preference is given to disabled ex-servicemen in the administration of the modern centre for handicapped adults in Tokyo.

THE UNEMPLOYED

131. A major contingency with which social security schemes in industrialized countries are concerned is unemployment, but loss of income through unemployment, unlike that arising from sickness and old age, does not lend itself to actuarial predictions and, under conditions of widespread long-term unemployment, a scheme based on the principle of insurance is in danger of breaking down. Social security against unemployment (as distinct from under-employment), whether in the form of insurance based on the payment of contributions or of assistance subject to a test of need, can have little relevance in practice in countries which are predominantly rural in character and where only a minority of workers are employed on a cash-wages basis. Moreover, any system of unemployment allowances to able-bodied persons must be closely linked with some work-finding organization, such as an employment exchange, if it is not to be the subject of abuse. The setting up of an employment exchange, even to serve a single town, constitutes a very difficult administrative problem in the conditions of a less-developed country, since it involves the recruitment of a suitably qualified staff, the maintenance of day-to-day contacts with employers and the keeping of records about large numbers of people, many of whom may be completely illiterate. It is, therefore, not surprising that in those less-developed countries where a system of social insurance has been adopted, unemployment is not usually one of the contingencies covered and that, equally, schemes of assistance in such countries rarely provide for the grant of allowances to able-bodied persons. Where any attempt has been made to deal with the need arising from unemployment, it has more usually taken the form of work-providing or "unemployment relief" schemes. Such schemes can make a practical contribution to the needs of the unemployed worker and his family by providing paid employment rather than financial assistance. The information set forth below is drawn from the relevant country monographs.

Bolivia

No provision by governmental or non-governmental organizations for any form of assistance to the able-bodied unemployed appears to exist. It is stated that "comparatively few people require assistance owing to lack of employment".

Burma

Steps taken by the Government to alleviate the hardships arising from unemployment have included a reduction in the number of workers admitted to the country from India and various measures to minimize the effect of discharges

of workers in the oil fields, including "temporary relief, work relief and schemes for alternative employment". (Details of these measures are not available.)

Ceylon

The only reference to the needs of the unemployed (except in relation to drought conditions to which reference is made in the final section of this chapter) is to a scheme of unemployment relief introduced in Colombo to deal with the situation which arose in 1930 when there was considerable unemployment among clerical and skilled workers. Allowances varying from 5 rupees to 20 rupees a month were granted to some 500 persons out of funds provided by private contributions to the Mayor's Fund. These unemployment allowances, which continued for about eight months, were administered by the Colombo Friend-in-Need Society. On the cessation of payments, the municipality organized unemployment relief works, such as the reclamation of low-lying land. After 1936, the scheme of relief works for unemployed persons in Colombo was taken over by the Labour Department of the central government, and at one stage nearly 2,000 people were involved. The able-bodied unemployed are excluded from both the public assistance and municipal poor law schemes.

Chile

Although there is no system of income maintenance allowances, the recently created National Welfare and Social Assistance Service provides some form of help for unemployed persons, particularly in the capital and the Central Provinces. This help includes the granting of "social credit" in the form of tools, food, clothing or building materials and the maintenance of workshops where unemployed men can be taught a trade and at the same time be paid on a piece-work basis.

Ecuador

The monograph notes that there are "no services" for unemployed persons.

Egypt

The social assistance scheme does not include able-bodied unemployed persons among those who can be granted continuing allowances. Lump sum payments can, however, be made under the scheme to certain classes of unemployed, such as discharged prisoners and persons normally employed in industry or commerce, "to help them find jobs and work out their problems".

Iran

The social insurance scheme covers unemployment, but the majority of the "active" population are not covered by the scheme. Some attempt to cater to the needs of the uninsured able-bodied unemployed in Tehran is made in connexion with the administration of the Aminabad Centre, one of the objects of which is "to combat unemployment". Persons found to be in good health are employed, in the first instance, on work connected with the organization and maintenance of the Centre under the supervision of qualified workmen and foremen, and attempts are made to find employment in private undertakings both in and outside Tehran. It is claimed that "In the absence of unemployment assistance or regular aid to the needy, the Centre can undoubtedly render useful service by finding employment for many unemployed".

Japan

Able-bodied unemployed are not debarred from seeking assistance under the Daily Life Security Law and, in fact, at the end of 1952, more than half of the 700,000 recipients of assistance were described as being members of the labour force. Less than 10,000 were, however, wholly unemployed. The biggest group of recipients within the labour force was composed of day labourers whose earnings from irregular employment were insufficient to bring their income up to the level of subsistence adopted for the purpose of the Daily Life Security Law. Of the total of 142,000 day labourers so assisted, 40,000 were employed in agriculture, but in the case of persons regularly employed, only 5,000 out of a total of 63,000 were agricultural workers. As regards assisted self-employed persons, there were nearly as many engaged in agriculture (53,000) as in other occupations (65,000). One of the seven forms of assistance provided under the Law is occupational aid, which includes the provision of the equipment necessary to take up an occupation, as well as training for skilled work. Occupational aid is restricted to individuals "whose income is likely to be increased or who are likely to become entirely self-supporting".

Libya

Reference is made in the final section of this chapter to schemes of unemployment relief works to combat the consequences of drought. Apart from these schemes, no provision is made for the needs of unemployed Arab workers, although a Moslem Relief Committee may occasionally make a small lump sum payment to enable a man to take up an occupation involving the purchase of tools. Unemployment is, however, one of the contingencies covered by the insurance scheme operating in Tripolitania (mainly in Tripoli) for the benefit of the European community. Although there is an employment exchange in Tripoli, it seems doubtful whether the co-ordination between the insurance scheme and the exchange can be regarded as entirely satisfactory.

BEGGARS AND VAGRANTS

132. In one sense, beggars do not constitute a separate class of needy persons since they may, and do, include the orphan or unwanted child, the blind, the aged, the crippled and the able-bodied unemployed. They also include those who, irrespective of their physical and mental condition, come within the description of "professional beggars" by reason of the caste to which they belong or of the tradition in which they have been brought up. Although the extent to which beggars are to be found in any country is, at first sight, suggestive of the degree of unmet need, it is by no means easy to draw any sound conclusion from this evidence. Among the many complex factors bearing on the question of begging and the related problem of vagrancy, probably the most important, as well as the most intractable, is the tacit acceptance by the community as a whole of begging and the complementary habit of almsgiving as part of the traditional and religious customs of the country. The exploitation of afflictions such as blindness or the loss of a limb can, in a country where the practice of almsgiving is firmly established, lead all too easily to the adoption of begging as an occupation—an occupation which is incompatible with human dignity.

133. The existence of a national or municipal scheme of assistance for the needy does not always suffice to eliminate begging, but it may reduce it very considerably and even lead to its ultimate eradication. On the other hand, legal enactments against begging, whether or not any attempt is made to enforce them, can provide no real solution to the problem, if they are not accompanied by any scheme for providing assistance to the needy. To quote one example, the diminution in the number of beggars in Tokyo in recent years, although doubtlessly due largely to Japan's post-war recovery, can hardly be unconnected with the practical application of the principles of the Daily Life Security Law; the influence of religious custom, however, is exemplified by the continued presence of beggars in the vicinity of Buddhist temples.

134. Having regard to the scanty or non-existent public provision of assistance for the destitute in many of the countries with which this report is concerned, as well as to factors mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the presence of large numbers of beggars in cities and big towns is only to be expected. In the absence of family or communal help, such as would more likely be available in the rural districts, begging is often the only alternative to starvation open to a destitute person in an urban centre, regardless of the cause of his destitute condition. There is the further point that for those who adopt begging as a profession (in some countries a not inconsiderable number) the cities and towns prove specially attractive because of the greater concentration of wealthy citizens and, in some instances, tourists to be found there. Some of the less-developed countries have indicated their recognition of the problems of begging and vagrancy by the adoption of controlling legislation, combined with local measures of a palliative character. The extent to which governments have made some attempt to grapple with begging and vagrancy is a hopeful sign for the future, but it is obvious that the problem is so big and so deep-rooted in some countries that progress must necessarily be very slow. Schemes of social security, improved health measures and the extension of education all have a part to play—the removal of child beggars from the streets of big cities to residential institutions where they can be taught a trade and eventually become self-supporting is an effective way of striking at the roots of the problem. It is obvious that attempts to suppress begging by legislation and police enforcement are not likely to be very successful unless they are accompanied by some constructive measures of this kind.

135. The Governments of the countries under review have, in varying degrees and ways, recognized the desirability of discouraging begging.

Bolivia

Street begging on the part of the more needy Indian population is described as "not common". Vagrants are arrested by the police and imprisoned for

24 hours, but there are no legal provisions or co-ordinated regulations applying to the control of beggars. The provision of food and shelters for beggars is left entirely to individuals and non-governmental organizations.

Burma

The problem has been aggravated by the consequences of the Second World War and by the disturbed state of the country in the post-war period, but it is understood that during more recent years beggars have not been so prevalent in Rangoon and other large cities. The provision of institutions for juvenile delinquents and the steps which have been taken to remove lepers to shelters have made an effective reduction in the size of the problem, although it is believed that there are still some 20,000 professional beggars throughout the country.²⁷ Institutions for juvenile delinquents make a long-term contribution to the improvement of conditions.

Ceylon

The attempt to control vagrancy in Ceylon dates back to 1841, when a Vagrancy Ordinance came into force. This ordinance was supplemented in 1907 by the Houses of Detention Ordinance. In conjunction with the Salvation Army, the Department of Social Service endeavours to achieve some measure of rehabilitation through a House of Detention and a Home for Vagrants. The professional beggar is put on the same footing as the able-bodied unemployed person in being excluded from the scope of the public assistance scheme.

Chile

One of the provisions of the Act on the Organization and Powers of Municipal Authorities places upon those authorities responsibility for "the prohibition or control of begging or loitering of beggars in streets, squares and other public places". The prevention of the exploitation of children for begging purposes is the concern of a number of religious organizations, one of which (the *Hogar de Cristo*) has, in recent years, opened three establishments for "homeless, vagrant and mendicant boys and youths".

Ecuador

Begging is tolerated, subject to control, as being a natural action on the part of anyone who is really in need.

Egypt

The non-contributory pension and social assistance schemes are of comparatively recent origin and have not yet developed sufficiently for their effects on the almsgiving and alms-receiving habits of the people of this Moslem country to be assessed. The magnitude of the begging problem in the larger towns is suggested by the fact that the Government maintains an establishment for the accommodation of 1,000 male beggars in Cairo.

Iran

One of the objects of the Aminabad Centre for the Care of the Needy is "to combat begging, vagrancy, poverty and unemployment". The size of the Centre is some measure of the magnitude of the begging problem in Tehran.

Thus, in the summer of 1953 the Centre was providing accommodation for 2,000 adults. In addition, 400 children over the age of seven were being accommodated in separate premises which form part of the Centre. Most of the inmates are taken to the Centre by the police after being apprehended in the streets and public places. The Imperial Charity Foundation has as one of its main objects "The combating of begging and vagrancy" and includes in its activities "the provision of shelter for invalids and beggars who are unfit for work and the education of vagrants in a special school".

Libya

The high incidence of blindness, the Moslem tradition of almsgiving and the general poverty of the country combine to create a begging problem in the larger towns. The poor card system operating in Tripoli seems to produce no appreciable reduction in the number of beggars in the city; indeed, it is suggested that a number of poor card holders systematically supplement their relief by begging. Some attempt to tackle the problem of child begging (including the use of afflicted children for this purpose by adults) is, from time to time, made by the Tripoli police force in conjunction with the Juvenile Court and the three "re-educational centres" in or near the city.

VICTIMS OF CALAMITIES

136. It is perhaps not surprising that even in those countries where there is virtually no public provision for the effects of misfortunes which may overtake individual breadwinners and their families, arrangements have been made to provide assistance for victims of large-scale national disasters, such as earthquakes, floods and droughts. In circumstances such as these, thousands of families, many perhaps already living in a state of poverty, may lose not only their means of livelihood—such as their animals and crops as the result of drought or locust plague—but all that they possess, including their homes. Where disasters of this magnitude have occurred with some frequency in the past and their repetition has come to be recognized as inevitable, some Governments have set up a standing organization which can come into operation as and when the need arises. Other Governments have been content to make improvised arrangements when the disaster occurs. The following survey of measures taken is based upon the various country monographs, unless otherwise stated.

Bolivia

"The State may also at its discretion provide disaster relief when required... The granting of assistance is discretionary in cases of catastrophe or disaster... When emergency financial assistance is required, the funds provided in the budget for 'unforeseen expenditure' may be drawn on, or public collections may be organized. The collections are generally sponsored by local newspapers... The departmental budgets also include special appropriations for emergency and disaster relief... When families are temporarily deprived of assistance by strike, disaster or emergency, public bodies are usually organized in the form of volunteer assistance boards or relief committees of public-spirited neighbours to meet the needs of the situation. In these cases, there is financial and personal response from the public".

Burma

The Ministry of Relief and Resettlement "offers immediate and temporary relief, mostly in kind, to people who have suffered from any natural disaster or catastrophe, such as fires, floods, earthquakes, storms, wars, etc... Thus, for instance, when in the months of January to March 1953, there was a series of disastrous fires in all parts of Rangoon, this Ministry was responsible for supplying to each household of sufferers rations for a fortnight, a set of clothes and 50 kyats worth of building materials. This work was carried out by its own permanent staff, helped by a number of volunteers, organized for the purpose on a permanent basis... the Mayor of the Rangoon Municipal Corporation raised a Mayor's Fund to help the victims of the fire, and his organization took up the relief where the Ministry left off, that is to say, when immediate help had been provided. This Mayor's Fund was to be used further to help the poorer families to acquire some furniture and other household articles." It may be noted that during the five years 1948-53 the Ministry provided aid in kind for about 250,000 persons affected by disasters at a cost of some 125 million kyats.

Ceylon

"Abnormal and widespread distress is caused by floods, droughts and sickness. The scheme for relief of distress due to floods provides for the immediate grant of relief in the form of food, clothing and shelter to those rendered homeless and grants of money to those whose homes require repairing or rebuilding. Assistance for relief of distress due to drought usually takes the form of provision of unskilled unemployment or relief works, such as building of roads, water tanks and bunds (embankments). In the case of sickness, protective foods such as malted milk, barley, sago, sugar and tea are distributed."

It is understood that because of the recurrence of disasters in the island which give rise to a temporary loss of the means of livelihood, the Government deliberately holds in reserve a programme of public works which can provide employment when the need arises.

Chile

The National Welfare and Social Assistance Service, the functions of which include the arranging of loans and grants, gives assistance to "persons or families who have been the victims of accidents, earthquakes, floods, droughts, epidemics or other emergency situations".

Ecuador

The duties of the Social Workers' Service are stated to include relief in connexion with "disasters caused by acts of God: fires, floods, etc." The activities of the Service are on a very limited scale and restricted by the smallness of the funds at its disposal. It is stated that "budgetary deficiencies have been supplemented by means of appeals launched as the need arose".

Egypt

One of the categories of those eligible for receipt of a lump sum grant (as distinct from a continuing allowance) under the social assistance scheme is described as "Relief assistance in cases of individual and mass disasters and general catastrophes such as floods, fires, etc." It is given either in kind (such

as food, flour, clothing, etc.) to cover all families affected by disaster, regardless of income or social condition, or in cash, as compensation for property losses, covering furniture, clothes, buildings, crops, etc.

Iran

The activities of the Imperial Charity Foundation outside Teheran include the provision of assistance for victims of disasters, such as earthquakes and fires.

Japan

Specific legislation, the Disaster Relief Law of 1947, covers situations arising as the result of earthquakes or other national disasters. The basis of the Law is that "in case of emergency disasters, the Japanese Government will immediately take necessary relief measures under its responsibility with the co-operation of local public organizations, the Japanese Red Cross Society, and other organizations, together with the co-operation of the people at large for the protection of disaster-stricken people and for the preservation of social order".

Libya

The widespread droughts, with consequent failure of the harvest, which afflict the country every few years, present the Government with a particularly difficult problem. Before any system of assistance or relief can be put into operation, food must be available for distribution to centres in the stricken areas. As a general rule, the absence of reserve supplies means that this food (usually barley) must be imported and it is expected that so far as possible the people will pay for it rather than receive it as a gift from the Government. Since the Bedouin or peasant who normally looks to his crops or his animals as a source of livelihood has no means of purchasing the food, unemployment relief works, such as road-making, the repair of wells and cisterns, dune fixation, or the clearance of scrub land, are organized in order that the able-bodied members of the families concerned may acquire a cash income.

Direct emergency relief, chiefly in the form of distribution of food grains, as well as assistance in respect of public works, has been undertaken by the Libyan Public Development and Stabilization Agency.²⁸ While the primary purpose of this Agency lies in the field of long-term economic development, provision is also made for emergency drought relief as a major factor in economic stabilization.

²⁸ The Libyan Public Development and Stabilization Agency was established under Libyan law in 1951, pursuant to recommendations of the Meeting of Experts on the Libyan Financial, Monetary and Development Problems. The Agency was to receive, through the Government of Libya, foreign contributions for the purposes of economic development and stabilization. Initial funds were provided by France, Italy and the United Kingdom, followed by a major Libyan contribution from funds received from other foreign Governments (see also *The Economic and Social Development of Libya*, United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1953.II.H.8, pp. 7 and 8).

Chapter IV

THE FORMS OF ASSISTANCE

RELATION BETWEEN CAUSES OF NEED AND FORMS OF ASSISTANCE

137. There is necessarily a close relation between the cause of need and the form of assistance most appropriate to meet that need. The most obvious example of this is that of the person whose need arises as the direct result of sickness and who, therefore, requires medical assistance, apart from any subsistence requirements for himself and any dependants. Another example of the cause of need determining the form of assistance is that of the abandoned child who, in the absence of any system of "boarding out" or of foster parents, can only have its need for food, shelter and clothing met by maintenance in an institution. Temporary or permanent maintenance in an institution is equally the most obvious and appropriate form of assistance for homeless men and women, whether their homelessness is attributable to a national or individual disaster, abandonment by their relatives or resort to a life of vagrancy, regardless of the cause. On the other hand, a person who has a home available to him, but whose need arises from a temporary or permanent cessation of his normal means of livelihood as the result of unemployment, sickness, invalidity or old age is ordinarily best provided for by some form of continuing assistance in cash or kind which will enable him to go on living in his own home under normal conditions. Even in such a case, however, maintenance in an institution may be more appropriate if his physical or mental condition is such that, in his own interest or that of his family, he should receive special care and treatment which he cannot get in his own home.

CONTINUING ALLOWANCES IN CASH OR KIND

138. Most schemes of public assistance in economically developed countries are based on the broad principle of income maintenance, that is, ensuring that the needy individual or family has a continuing income in cash or kind sufficient to provide subsistence up to a level laid down for the country or district to which the scheme applies. Under such schemes, the assistance usually takes the form of a cash allowance, paid at regular intervals to the head of the family, which together with any other income or resources (such as home produced food) available to the individual or members of his family enables the appropriate subsistence standard to be attained. Less fre-

quently, the assistance is in all cases granted wholly or mainly in kind. Regular grants of assistance in kind, except where they are confined to a single concentrated area, usually entail elaborate distribution arrangements with consequent increase in the cost of administration. Special considerations arise where a cash economy is not customary but it is generally accepted that, in normal circumstances, assistance in cash is preferable to assistance in kind as preserving a sense of dignity, responsibility and independence in the recipient, assistance in kind being resorted to only when there is reason to believe that cash would not be disbursed in the best interests of the family as a whole. The provision of assistance in the form of food, for instance, is particularly desirable where there is a risk that children would otherwise suffer because of the failure of their parents to utilize a cash income properly. Even this device does not necessarily assure that the assistance is used in the way intended as the food may be sold or exchanged for non-essentials. The advantage of school feeding in this connexion was mentioned in the preceding chapter. Because of the risk of mis-spending by the recipient, payment of a cash allowance is sometimes made to a person other than the head of the family.

139. In Ceylon, Egypt and Japan, where there are nation-wide schemes of public assistance, the form of regular cash payments is adopted with some qualifications, as set forth in the ensuing paragraphs.

140. Under the public assistance scheme in Ceylon, "permanent" assistance is always given in cash, but temporary assistance necessitated by personal or national emergencies is given either in kind or in cash. Where assistance in kind is granted, its value does not exceed the cash value of the normal allowance. Similarly, the poor law schemes operating in the municipalities of Colombo, Kandy and Galle normally provide continuing payments in cash.

141. Continuing allowances under the non-contributory pension and social assistance scheme in Egypt are normally paid in cash direct to the person in need to "spend in his own way" except in conditions of widespread disaster (see para. 136 above). Where, however, the applicant is unable to make proper use of his assistance through "youth, immaturity or a physical, mental or moral condition", payment to the wife or to one of the children or to "any other trustworthy person who will spend it on the beneficiary" is authorized.

142. Under the Daily Life Security Law of Japan, basic continuing assistance is granted in the form of a cash subsistence allowance "provided, however, that, in case it is impossible or inappropriate to follow this method, this aid may be provided by means of benefit in kind". Ancillary assistance under the headings of educational, housing, maternity, occupational and funeral aid is similarly granted in cash, subject to the qualification regarding appropriateness or

practicability. So far as people living in their own homes are concerned, the one exception to the cash payment principle is medical aid, which is provided "by making the recipient avail himself of a medical protection institution or a medical agency designated by the Minister of Welfare or the Governor of the prefecture".

143. An example of continuing assistance in the form of kind is afforded by the "poor card" system operating in the city of Tripoli (Libya). Under this system, all grants of assistance are expressed in terms of a number of "free rations", each ration consisting of a specified quantity of barley, sugar, tea and soap, to be drawn each month. Although a family may have no other source of income and although a ration is estimated to be sufficient to meet the requirements of one individual only, it is unusual for rations to be granted for each member of the family. In a minority of cases (in 1951-52, about 1 case in 3) a small cash payment is made in addition to the free rations; but in no case is a cash payment made by itself.

144. In Bolivia where continuing governmental assistance is limited almost entirely to victims of war and revolution, the relevant monograph states that :

"Assistance is usually given in the form of cash, but assistance in kind in the form of food, medicines and paid travel, is sometimes provided... Milk, food, clothing and medicines may be provided, in addition to, or separate from, cash grants".

Referring to the activities of one of the more prominent non-governmental organizations in Bolivia it is stated that

"Every week, the Society of St. Anthony of Padua distributes alms collected in the churches equally among needy persons without regard to the size of their families. The assistance given is financial, not social."

On the other hand, a description of the activities of the public and private organizations in Chile includes the statement that

"Material assistance is given preferably in the form of food, clothes, footwear, rent payment and so on; cash grants are made less frequently in order to avoid encouragement of idleness and the possibility of inadequate or improper use of grants".

A safeguard against the improper spending of the assistance in cash given by the Social Workers' Service in Ecuador is the requirement that "receipts must be produced to show how the money has been spent". There appears to be no similar requirement in the case of the associated Workers' Welfare Service, which generally provides assistance "in the form of a food allowance of from 14 to 35 sucres a week, according to the family's needs". In Iran, where there is no governmental provision for continuing assistance allowances, whether in cash or kind, neither of the two important non-governmental

organizations—the Imperial Charity Foundation and the Red Lion and Sun Society—appears to make any payments in cash, but both organizations give continuing assistance in the form of food, clothing and fuel.

145. The undesirability of making cash payments to individuals who are not accustomed to handle money is illustrated by what has occurred in Libya in connexion with unemployment relief works in times of drought. In 1951, when large numbers of men belonging to the Bedouin tribes were given the opportunity of working for wages on road-repair work schemes in Cyrenaica, it was found that many of them used the money for the purchase of non-essentials, such as cigarettes, for themselves instead of making arrangements for the purchase of food for their families from whom they were temporarily separated.

VARIOUS FORMS OF ASSISTANCE IN KIND

146. Assistance in kind, whether for day-to-day maintenance or for replacement of essential non-consumable goods is most frequently given in connexion with disaster relief. In the conditions following disasters such as earthquakes and floods, cash assistance is of little practical use since the whole social and economic life of the community is disrupted and, whatever the extent of cash transactions in normal circumstances, they cease to operate if food and other commodities are no longer available through the ordinary purchasing channels. Depending on the nature and extent of the disaster, it may be necessary to give "first aid" assistance by improvising camps and communal feeding by means of soup kitchens. Even where the establishment of relief camps is not necessary, the only practical form of assistance may well be the supply of food and the replacement of essential articles of clothing and equipment, including possibly the home itself. An example of this is afforded by events in Burma, where, as mentioned earlier (see para. 136 above), arrangements were made after the disastrous fires in Rangoon in the early part of 1953 to supply not only food, but clothes, cooking utensils and building materials. In Ceylon also, free timber for rebuilding houses is supplied in an emergency, in addition to grants for the purchase of implements of trade. As regards Egypt, it was noted in the preceding chapter that, whereas emergency relief for food and clothing is provided in kind, cash payments are made to cover loss of property such as furniture, buildings and crops.

147. Libya provides an example of a country, where from time to time, it has been necessary to organize relief camps. The situation which arose a few years ago is described as follows in the relevant monograph:

"The most serious drought in recent years occurred in Tripolitania in 1947. After the almost complete failure of the harvest in that year, large numbers of people from all over the country attempted to make their way to Tripoli

in the hope that they would there find the food and employment which had ceased to be available in the rural districts. The result was to increase their privations because of the additional physical strain entailed. Those who did reach the city arrived in a state of complete exhaustion, and a certain number died from the combined effects of lack of food and abnormal physical exertion. The needs of those who reached the city were met by the setting up of improvised relief camps on the outskirts where the 'refugees' could be fed communally and their strength built up sufficiently for them to return to their homes where imported supplies of foodstuffs were distributed."

148. One of the less common, but nevertheless effective forms of assistance to be found in urban districts of less-developed territories is the provision of housing, either free or at a reduced rent. This form of help for the needy has received special attention in Chile. The following details are drawn from the monograph on that country:

"The Emergency Housing Foundation... has as its purpose the provision of hygienic housing for families in poor or needy circumstances, living in unhealthy or inadequate premises and having at least four children under 16 years of age. It already has five developments in Santiago, two at La Serena, one at Lota and one at Puerto Montt, with a further seven developments under construction, six of them in the provinces... These developments are managed by social workers who fix the amount of rent payable, which may not, in any case, exceed 10 per cent of the income of the head of the family (indigent families live rent free)."

149. Housing for needy families has also received special attention in Burma, where the Ministry of Housing and Labour has given priority to activities designed to relieve the acute housing shortage in Rangoon. After the fires of 1953, for instance, it erected large numbers of small tenements on the burnt-down sites, no rent being charged during the initial period of occupancy.

150. Among the variety of forms of assistance in kind for the poorest section of the community, usually to be found in congested urban centres, are arrangements for free communal feeding, cheap restaurants, dormitories and heated shelters. In Bolivia, soup kitchens and dormitories are provided by the Salvation Army. The Government of Egypt developed an extensive system of "public kitchens" before the introduction of the social security scheme; in 1950 there were some 40 kitchens providing over 14,000 meals daily, either free or at a very much reduced charge.

"The meals are issued to deserving people after their private living conditions have been investigated by social workers. Priority is given to pregnant women, nursing mothers, people recovering from illness, as well as T.B. patients, poor families with babies or growing youngsters, workers doing heavy work and other people rendering valuable work of a public nature."²⁹

²⁹ *Social Welfare in Egypt*, 1950, p. 82.

151. In Iran, the activities of the Imperial Charity Foundation include the provision in Tehran of heated premises where the "poor and needy" can go in the winter, and in the same city the Red Lion and Sun Society maintains a canteen capable of serving 100 persons a day and provides free meals for indigent nursing mothers and pregnant women. In Chile, cheap restaurants for persons of small means are operated by the National Welfare and Social Assistance Service. The country monograph notes that the services provided by the Housing and Social Welfare Foundation include:

"Controlled price shops, with credit or bonuses being granted at the discretion of the social worker; sales or gifts of furniture on the same basis; loans for the establishment of home industries; financial assistance to students who are children of widowed mothers supporting the family; credit accounts and free supplies at pharmacies and free pediatric and nursing services".

SINGLE GRANTS AND LOANS FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES

152. Single grants in cash or kind in respect of specific items, such as clothing, tools and funerals, are characteristic of many charitable organizations. The cost of funerals, in particular, is a frequent reason for the making of a special grant either by governmental or non-governmental agencies. In Japan, "funeral aid" is provided under the Daily Life Security Law and expenditure on free burials figures very largely in the disbursements of the Colombo Public Assistance Committee in Ceylon. In 1952, free burials were provided in as many as 2,455 cases in Colombo. Since there were only 11,000 cases of continuing assistance, it seems clear that resort to the poor law for burial purposes is not limited to families who depend on the municipality for maintenance. In Ecuador, the Quito Social Service Bureau includes a "funeral service", the activities of which are "limited to providing the hearse for the journey to the cemetery". Grants for funerals also appear prominently in the disbursements made by the Moslem Relief Committees in Libya and, in the case of some of these Committees, represent the major item of expenditure. The religious significance of funerals accounts for what might otherwise appear to be a strange contrast in some countries between the relatively generous provision made for funeral expenses and the very limited or non-existent provision for the maintenance of life.

153. Outside of social insurance, grants for maternity expenses appear to be provided very rarely, but the pensions and social assistance scheme in Egypt covers "assistance in cases of delivery" both for persons under the scheme as well as for others who have a monthly income of not more than £E3. Also, in Egypt, lump-sum grants are made to unemployed persons to enable them to secure employment. Chile has in recent years introduced a scheme of loans or social credit

"... for the provision of tools, food, clothing or building material to any person whose character, occupation or employment history justifies such assistance, with a view to individual or family improvement or the rehabilitation of unemployed or socially maladjusted persons."

Repayable loans for similar purposes are also made on a limited scale both by governmental and non-governmental organizations in a number of other countries; the important question of loans in kind and credit facilities to enable the peasant to increase his production is dealt with in chapter IX below.

INSTITUTIONAL ACCOMMODATION

154. It will have been gathered from earlier references in this report that all the countries with which the report is concerned have made some provision, if in some instances on a very restricted scale, for assistance in the form of maintenance in an institution. In certain of the countries, for example in Iran, the provision of food and shelter on a communal basis, limited as it usually is, plays a much bigger part in the welfare programme of government and non-governmental agencies than any other way of providing for those in need. In those countries where the grant of assistance to people living in their own homes is looked upon as "charity" in a humiliating sense, the same view does not appear to be taken of institutional maintenance. It is the form of assistance which, over the years, has made a particular appeal to voluntary organizations, especially those with a religious association, as exemplified by the shelter traditionally provided by monasteries.

155. A summary (not necessarily complete) of the institutional accommodation provided by government and non-governmental agencies in the nine countries dealt with is given in Appendix III. For the reasons indicated in paragraph 137 above, it is to be expected that orphanages and similar accommodation for children should appear prominently in this list. The existence of a large number of children's institutions reflects the proper concern of the government and people of a country for the welfare of those children who are deprived of a normal home life. At the same time, it must be recognized that a continuous institutional life is an unnatural one for a child, even under the best conditions, and that, for the normal child, it can only be an inferior substitute for an upbringing as a member of a family. Consequently, there is much to be said for a properly supervised system of foster parents or boarding-out as an alternative to maintenance in an institution. Chile and Japan are among the countries which adopted such a system.

156. Institutional accommodation is one important means of providing for the "helpless and homeless", whether young or old, whose need is for care and protection, as well as for maintenance. The factors which, in recent years, have led to an increasing demand for income maintenance allowances for old people in the more

developed and industrialized countries also account for the fact that these countries have found it necessary to provide more institutional accommodation or old people's homes. It is inevitable that there should be many old people who, although not so ill as to require hospital treatment, are nevertheless incapable of looking after themselves and have no friend or relative willing to undertake the task. In addition to the very young and the very old, the helpless members of any community include the physically and mentally handicapped who, by reason of their condition, may find it difficult to fit into a normal home life and whose presence may be resented by, and even be a danger to, other members of the family. This is particularly so where the home consists of little more than a one-room structure. In those countries where specialized institutional accommodation is not available for particular groups of handicapped persons, such as the blind, it is nevertheless usual to segregate the mentally unbalanced. This segregation is clearly most necessary.

157. Communal existence in an institution does not represent a natural way of life for the adults any more so than it does for children, and it is quite inappropriate for a family unit except as a purely temporary measure. Moreover, the provision and proper maintenance of any institution involves considerable expenditure by way of building and staff costs etc., so that it is not necessarily a more economical form of assistance than the provision of a continuing "home" allowance in cash or kind. The question, however, is not entirely one of relative costs. Where children are concerned, there is the further consideration whether the community is in a position to provide either or both of the following additional social services which are desirable: (1) measures to strengthen family life so that some children who need special care and attention may receive it in their own homes; and (2) the provision of proper facilities for implementing a programme of adoption or foster homes for those children who, for whatever reason, must live apart from their families.

158. Institutional accommodation in the countries with which this report is concerned ranges from orphanages and homes for old people supplying all the needs of life (referred to in Japan as "protective institutions") to "shelters" for beggars and vagrants providing nothing more than a place in which to sleep with the minimum of protection against the elements. In few of the countries are there arrangements for providing institutional accommodation for those needy persons for whom this is the most appropriate form of assistance which can be described as adequate.

REHABILITATION MEASURES

159. Ideally, the provision of assistance, whether in the form of a continuing income in cash or kind, a single grant or maintenance in an institution, should be constructive and designed, so far as possible,

to ensure that the recipient is enabled to become independent of help from outside sources. Enabling a sick person to regain his normal health is an obvious example of rehabilitation assistance and it is not without significance that the free medical service of Ecuador has been given the title of "public assistance". Again, long-term rehabilitation assistance may be given to orphans or unwanted children who may be in danger of becoming juvenile delinquents, by providing them with education and maintenance in an orphanage or similar institution in order that they may become an asset rather than a liability to the community. Effective rehabilitation of the aged and infirm and of those who are severely handicapped mentally or physically may well be beyond the bounds of practicability, but there is always the possibility of constructive assistance in one form or another for the partially handicapped, such as the supply of artificial limbs or special training and assistance in obtaining employment under sheltered conditions. Rehabilitation measures may also be called for in connexion with the provision of assistance to victims of national disasters, discharged prisoners, and to beggars and vagrants who have lost the will to work. In view of the limited resources available, such measures do not figure prominently in the social welfare programmes of the less-developed territories, but some reference has been made in the country monographs to this general aspect of assistance (these references should be read in conjunction with those relating to the mentally and physically handicapped in the preceding chapter).

Bolivia

In connexion with the limited provision for assistance it is noted that

"When the applicant is in need because of circumstances beyond his control, in order to avoid humiliating him, temporary benefits are granted for up to three months, and work is sought for him... Juveniles are placed as apprentices or in domestic service. Adults are found jobs in industry or private workshops. Women with children are found jobs in domestic work or in factories."

Burma

The governmental administration includes a Ministry of Relief and Resettlement as well as a Ministry of Social Welfare. The former Ministry is concerned with victims of the insurgence of recent years as well as of natural disasters. The rehabilitation of those insurgents who have surrendered voluntarily and are not charged with criminal offences takes the form of instruction in various trades for a period of six months and the payment of an allowance (70 kyats a month) for maintenance "plus free barracking or family housing" during this period. On the completion of training, the men are required to "bind themselves to serve the Government for two years in any part of the country on a salary according to rank and skill".

Ceylon

"The rehabilitation of vagrants is being undertaken by the Government through the Home of Detention and the Home for Vagrants... The Home

of Detention is meant for people convicted under the Home of Detention Ordinance and the Superintendent of the Home of Detention finds employment for those who are able to work. The others are sent to the Home for Vagrants, where an endeavour is made to rehabilitate them. Many hard cases have been reclaimed to a life of decency, while, on the other hand, there are some who have lapsed into vagrancy as soon as they have been released."

Provision is also made for the after-care and rehabilitation of youths and adults after they have served periods of detention for offences. The two organizations entrusted with this task, the Training School After-care Association and the Ceylon Discharged Prisoners' Aid Association, are largely dependent for financial aid upon the Prisons and Probation Department of the Government.

Chile

In a reference to the activities of professional social workers who have received their training at the School of Social Service in Santiago, it is noted that "Wherever possible, these workers try to obtain the co-operation of the assisted person in removing the causes of his economic problems; they try to assist the needy to rehabilitate or adapt themselves by their own efforts. Except in cases of extreme poverty, they refrain from giving direct economic aid which might be regarded as charity or might hamper the initiative and personal efforts of the applicant to attain or regain a normal life." In addition to the three Schools of Social Service in Santiago, there are a number of others in the provinces. All these schools are of university standard, five of them being affiliated to the University of Chile and one to the separate Catholic University. It is reported that the rehabilitation service of the organization known as *Segura Obrero* is now in the process of being reorganized and that it is expected to have very important functions in the future; also that there are various organizations and institutions for the rehabilitation of delinquent, vagrant or difficult minors. In addition to the Directorate-General for Child and Youth Welfare (now part of the National Health Service), the Council for the Defence of the Child and an institution known as *Mi Casa* are both concerned with the education and rehabilitation of children and young persons who are actual or potential delinquents.

Ecuador

Rehabilitation work appears to be confined mainly to juvenile delinquents. There are five "Labour and Rehabilitation Centres" for delinquents between the ages of 12 and 18 years under the control of the Directorate-General of Child Welfare Homes. The Workers' Welfare Scheme is also concerned with rehabilitation measures, more particularly in relation to juvenile street vendors. The plans for the development of the latter service include the organization of a workshop for vocational training.

Egypt

The Ministry of Social Affairs which is responsible for the administration of the non-contributory pension and social assistance schemes is also responsible for rehabilitation measures in consultation with the other ministries as well as the non-governmental organizations concerned (see para. 127 above).

Iran

A certain amount of rehabilitation work is undertaken by the Aminabad Centre in Tehran, more particularly with regard to beggars, inebriates and drug addicts.

Japan

The rehabilitation measures provided under the Daily Life Security Law are known as occupational aid. This includes the supply of financial assistance, the supply of equipment and tools necessary to take up employment, as well as occupational training.

Libya

Rehabilitation is confined almost entirely to the juvenile delinquents and neglected children who are found in the streets of Tripoli and who are sent to three re-educational centres.

PREVENTIVE ASSISTANCE

160. All measures related to the social and economic development of a country bear, directly or indirectly, on the elimination of poverty and are therefore appropriately described as "preventive assistance" in the widest sense of the term. This wide conception of preventive assistance is discussed in more detail in chapter IX below. But, in addition to more general measures concerned with the population as a whole, a number of countries have taken special steps with the specific and limited objective of enabling certain groups of people to continue to be self-supporting in circumstances in which they would otherwise be in need of outside assistance. An example of this limited preventive assistance is employment on schemes of public works for able-bodied unemployed men. Another example is the provision of crèches where women can leave their young children in the daytime, thus enabling them to engage in whole or part-time employment. Where the woman has no able-bodied husband, such employment may represent her sole means of livelihood; where she has a husband who is also working, her earnings help to supplement those of the chief breadwinner which, by themselves, may be inadequate to meet the needs of the whole family. The possibilities of such employment occur more particularly in urban districts, where there is a demand for female labour in domestic service or light industries but they also exist in parts of Ceylon and the Latin American countries where there are large estates and plantations providing suitable occupations for women. References in the country monographs give some indication of the varied nature of the special preventive measures which have been evolved.

Bolivia

The Government has adopted a number of legal provisions which are designed to "avoid destitution". These provisions include the entitlement of a bankrupt to retain such articles as his bed, clothes and food, as well as the requirement of the trustee in bankruptcy to provide for the maintenance of the bankrupt and his family until the bankrupt's property is redeemed. Another provision stipulates that a person may only be evicted from his dwelling if he has failed to pay the rent for three months or on very special grounds. Crèches for young

children are provided to enable mothers to take paid employment. A recent extension of this service has taken the form of a Children's Restaurant, providing meals as well as day nursery facilities for young children.

Ceylon

This is an example of a country where the State has accepted financial responsibility for the provision of crèches for young children (between the ages of 3 months and 5 years) "in areas where there are concentrations of working mothers". A further practical example of the conception of preventive assistance is to be found in the conditions relating to the provision of help in emergency conditions for the rebuilding or repairing of houses or the purchase of tools of trade. An applicant is not regarded as eligible for grant "if he has sufficient funds to provide for the repairs, reconstruction or replacement or sufficient security to enable him to borrow for the purpose"; but assistance is given where "the cost of repairs, reconstruction or replacement would cause financial distress, which although not amounting to destitution would be likely to lead to destitution if no grant was made". Ceylon also affords an example of a country which seeks to prevent need arising as the result of unemployment by providing employment on public works projects as and when conditions make this desirable.

The employment of women is said to be on the increase and the Labour Code requires undertakings employing twenty or more women workers to provide nurseries "where women may breast-feed their children under one year of age and where they may leave them during working hours".

Ecuador

The Directorate-General of Child Welfare Homes provides 15 crèches for children of working mothers.

Japan

There is a "Loan for Mothers with Children" Law, the object of which is to make loans on a needs basis "to furnish the opportunities and facilities necessary for taking on a job or acquiring a skill" in the case of mothers with children whose husbands are dead or divorced.

Schemes of public work are brought into operation as a means of preventing complete destitution when drought conditions result in the temporary loss of the normal means of livelihood.

Chapter V

CONDITIONS OF ELIGIBILITY

PHYSICAL AND OTHER CONTINGENCIES

161. The scope of nearly all conventional schemes of assistance is limited to persons affected by those contingencies which are generally accepted as proper to be covered by social security measures of one kind or another. These contingencies are, in the main, old age, sickness, invalidity, physical and mental handicaps, loss of the breadwinner and unemployment. Even where such limitation is not expressly incorporated in the legislation on which the scheme is based, the same result may be achieved in practice by specifically excluding persons (and their dependants) who are gainfully occupied, whether as independent workers or as employees. In less-developed countries where the conception of governmental schemes of assistance, if accepted at all, is of comparatively recent origin, it is only to be expected that the qualifying contingency conditions will be more restricted as compared with countries where there is a long history of public assistance. With the exception of Japan, this is the position in the countries under review. For instance, except in emergency conditions arising from national calamities, it is unusual for unemployment which is not accompanied by some form of incapacity to be recognized as conferring eligibility. This general exclusion of unemployment is readily understandable. The payment of continuing allowances in cash or kind to able-bodied men and women living in a state of idleness, even though this idleness is beyond their control, is difficult to reconcile with conditions of unalleviated poverty among those who, for one reason or another, are physically or mentally incapable of working—to say nothing of the hardships of the employed whose labours do not yield an adequate income for themselves and their dependants. Furthermore, in countries where the majority of the active population are self-employed, the existence of a state of real unemployment (as distinct from underemployment) is difficult to establish.

162. The Daily Life Security Law of Japan provides an exception to the general rule of contingency conditions in that it does not include any physical or similar conditions of eligibility, but is based on the broad principle of ensuring to every citizen a minimum standard of subsistence. Assistance can therefore legally be granted not only to an able-bodied unemployed person, but also to an employed person (whether self-employed or working for an employer) if his own and his family's subsistence requirements are regarded as

not being fully met by the income available to them. In practice, the standard of subsistence which has been adopted appears to exclude the great majority of employed persons, but in November 1952, the number of recipients of public assistance in Japan included nearly 388,000 heads of families who were either (a) self-employed (118,000); (b) regularly working for an employer (64,000); (c) casually employed as day labourers (142,000) or (d) engaged in home industries (63,000), whereas there were less than 10,000 recipients who were wholly unemployed. These figures must, of course, be considered in relation to a total population of over 80 millions. The "poor card" system in Tripoli, although not comparable in scope to the Daily Life Security Law of Japan, also appears to result occasionally in assistance being granted when the head of the household is in full-time employment; that is, the usual prohibition of the supplementation of wages is not observed in the actual administration of the system.

163. The physical conditions of eligibility applying to the separate public assistance and poor law schemes in Ceylon are similar. In both instances, the able-bodied unemployed are excluded. The Poor Law Ordinance provides for relief to be given "to the physically or mentally infirm or incapacitated and to orphans or children below a prescribed age of poor parents"; public assistance is given to "the sick, the aged, the infirm, the physically and mentally defective and their dependants; widows with dependent children, women deserted by their husbands or deprived of their help owing to incurable illness, imprisonment or similar causes; and orphans and children under 16 years of age deprived of the help of their parents". It was noted in paragraph 124 above that the Colombo Municipality has fixed the lower limit for eligibility on account of old age at 60 for men and 55 for women, but no mention is made of similar age limits applying elsewhere on the island. The Colombo scheme also provides that the report of the medical officer shall be the sole guide as regards incapacity and infirmity, "but every case is considered on its own merits".

164. In Egypt there are important differences in the physical conditions of eligibility as between the non-contributory pension and social assistance schemes. These differences are, no doubt, largely accounted for by the fact that the former is of a permanent character and involves a legal entitlement whereas the latter is mainly concerned with short-term need and there is no automatic entitlement. The pensions scheme is limited to four clearly defined categories, namely, men and women over 65, the totally disabled, widows with dependent children and orphans. The social assistance scheme extends to a number of less clearly defined categories including the partially disabled, certain divorced women, the temporarily sick (including pregnant women and nursing mothers) and childless widows who are unable to work. The age limit for pensions in the case of orphans is of special interest, because of the differentiation

between boys and girls. The upper age limit in the case of girls is 17 years, without any qualification, whereas for boys it is 13 years "or 17 years if they are incapacitated for work or attending approved schools or institutions". The reason for the differentiation is that girls ordinarily get married before the age of 17, and also that, by traditional custom, they are not expected to engage in paid employment. No provision is made for the orphan girl who remains unmarried after the age of 17. The normal age limit for boys has been fixed at 13 "because the compulsory education stops at the age of 12 and one extra year is granted to allow the boy to get trained in a profession or trade".

165. In the six countries where there are no formal or comprehensive schemes of assistance, the physical conditions associated with such localized governmental and non-governmental schemes as exist follow a fairly common pattern. Apart from emergency conditions, neither unemployment nor old age are generally recognized as qualifications for assistance. The conditions most commonly accepted are loss of the breadwinner (more particularly as it affects children), permanent physical incapacity and temporary sickness.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

166. The fundamental basis of any assistance scheme is that, irrespective of the imposition of any limitations as to scope or contingency, such as being over or under a specified age or suffering from a specified degree of disability, there must be a state of actual need; that expression, however, is interpreted in the particular circumstances of the country or locality. This condition as to need represents the essential difference between schemes of assistance and insurance. Under all normal insurance schemes, entitlement to a pre-determined benefit is decided primarily by the existence of a particular contingency, regardless of whether or not it is accompanied by actual need. The contingency must, of course, be presumed to give rise to some need in the great majority of cases, but the insured person who claims benefit, unlike the applicant for assistance, is not called upon to establish that he is in fact in need. As a corollary, the amount of insurance benefit is not adjusted to the actual subsistence requirements at the time of the claim. It does not, for instance, take into consideration the amount of the beneficiary's rent liability, although it may take account of the number of his dependants.

167. There is, of necessity, some connexion between the economic test for eligibility and the calculation of the amount of assistance afforded to those who satisfy that test. If, for instance, certain sources of income (such as assistance in cash or kind from "non-liable" relatives) or possessions (such as ownership of the house which constitutes the home) are not taken into account in determining eligibility, it would ordinarily follow that these items are similarly disregarded in determining the amount of assistance to be granted.

168. As already indicated, the existence of a state of need is the only condition necessary for entitlement to assistance under the Daily Life Security Law of Japan. The Law provides that the need for assistance is to be measured by the standard which the Minister of Welfare has established and by the extent, if any, to which the applicant's resources in terms of money or goods do not enable him to achieve that standard. The Law also provides that "the standard should be sufficient to meet, but not to exceed, the minimum needs of living... taking into consideration variations in actual requirements of an individual and a family, such as differences in age and sex, the condition of health etc., of the person requiring assistance". Physical conditions therefore enter into the calculation of the amount of assistance to be granted, as distinct from eligibility to receive any assistance at all. It is a condition of the receipt of assistance that "the person in need will make full use of all resources available to him to maintain his minimum standard of living". It seems to follow from this provision that all income and other resources available to an applicant are taken fully into account in deciding whether he is in need and, if so, the amount of assistance which should be given.

169. The public assistance measures operating in Ceylon outside the three municipalities having poor law schemes follows broadly the same lines as the Japanese scheme as regards the existence of economic need as a basis for eligibility. No income limit has been fixed for the purpose of determining eligibility, but "it is purely discretionary on the part of the officers administering the relief taking the size of the family and the locality into consideration". It is stated that allowances are not denied to persons who are otherwise eligible because they receive occasional help from "relatives, neighbours or the local public", but that "casual earnings and available resources, including assistance received from relatives, friends or voluntary organizations are taken into account when assessing the amount to be granted". The Ceylon scheme also embodies the principle "that the position of a recipient of public assistance is not made more favourable than that of his fellow men who are not eligible for assistance". Since regularly employed men and women are excluded from eligibility, it follows that the amount of assistance cannot exceed the prevailing level of minimum wages and the lowest standard of subsistence achieved by the self-employed. This is an important difference in relation to the situation in Japan, where assistance can be given to supplement wages or earnings from self employment. Except in so far as the maximum rates of assistance under the three municipal poor law schemes in Ceylon differ from each other and from those of the general public assistance scheme, the eligibility conditions of need of all four types of measures seem to follow the same general principles. In the case of the Colombo scheme, however, the municipality has given the following specific interpretation of the term "in need":

"A person of either sex unable to support himself or herself owing to physical or mental infirmity or incapacity or an orphan or a child of poor parents shall be deemed to be in need of relief if he is not in receipt of a regular monthly income of 15 rupees or above by way of pension or 20 rupees or above a month from other sources and is not being adequately maintained or relieved by some other person or institution."

170. An interesting provision of the Ceylon Poor Law Ordinance is that the three municipalities which operate under the Ordinance are empowered to recover sums expended on the relief of a person over a period of six months in the case of a recipient "who is possessed of any money or jewelry or valuable movables": the purpose of this provision is apparently not so much to provide a test of need to be applied at the time of the application, but to safeguard municipal funds in the case of a person coming into possession of money or other valuables, as through a legacy, while in receipt of relief.

171. The non-contributory pension scheme in Egypt differs from the assistance schemes of both Japan and Ceylon in not taking into account in full certain items of regular income in deciding whether there is an entitlement to pension and, if so, in assessing the amount of the pension to be awarded. This departure from the principle of taking all other income fully into account is made in order "to encourage thrift and maintain the old charitable traditions in the country which are based on social and religious concepts". The items ignored are (1) income up to 40 per cent of the maximum pension (£E30 a year in urban districts) derived from paid labour, domestic industries and the raising of poultry and (2) help from non-relatives or from relatives not legally responsible. In addition, the rental value of "any house or part thereof owned by the family and used for private accommodation" is similarly not taken into account. Apart from the considerations of incentive on which they are based, these modifications of the more stringent test of need usually associated with assistance schemes afford an interesting example of entitlement to a pension not based on the payment of contributions approximating in some measure the conditions for the receipt of a social insurance pension with its complete absence of a test of needs. Similar conditions are apparently not applicable to the Egyptian social assistance scheme, the relevant provision of the Social Security Law stipulating that "Payment of assistance shall be effected in accordance with conditions and in the manner laid down by... [the Minister of Social Affairs] within the limits of moneys appropriated for this purpose". It is recorded that, in practice, assistance is granted "according to the circumstances of the applicant".

172. The approach to the question of what constitutes need has, of course, little practical significance in countries where the provision of systems of continuing allowances is not recognized as one of the functions of government. The authors of the monographs on Burma

and Ecuador both make the point that, in the last resort, only people who are reduced to begging because they have no means at all of their own can be regarded as being in need. A similar approach is indicated in Iran, where governmental provision does not go much beyond the provision of shelter for beggars in the capital city. Again, although the monograph on Bolivia refers to needy persons being defined as those whose income is below the minimum subsistence level of 4,000 bolivianos a month, this figure has little practical significance in view of the absence of any organized scheme of assistance other than for victims of war or revolution.

LIABILITY OF RELATIVES

173. The requirement that any individual who is unable to meet his own needs should, in the first instance, look to those relatives who are under obligation to support him is a normal condition of any scheme of assistance. In principle, this requirement applies equally in those countries or districts where the extended family and the concept of mutual aid within the tribe or community have ceased to have the same practical significance as in those territories where traditional obligations continue to play a vital part in the provision of assistance for the needy. As has been pointed out in chapter I, there is considerable variation among the countries dealt with as to the degrees of relationship which carry with them a traditional or legal responsibility for maintenance. In general, it is recognized that, in normal circumstances, a husband is responsible for maintaining his legal wife, and parents are responsible for maintaining their children. In some countries, this responsibility, whether legal or traditional, is a reciprocal one and, in addition, it may extend both lineally and laterally so that grandparents are responsible for the maintenance of their grandchildren and *vice versa*, and brothers and sisters are similarly responsible for each other. When the question arises of the existence of an undischarged legal responsibility for the maintenance of a person who has applied to a governmental or non-governmental organization for help, there are a number of practical considerations. Because, for instance, of physical separation, combined with severely limited communication facilities, the legal liability may be impracticable of enforcement, if only because the whereabouts of the liable person cannot be ascertained. This situation not infrequently arises as the result of increased industrialization and the consequent drift towards the town—the husband or father may leave his family behind in the rural district in order to seek employment in a city and, when he is successful, neglect to make any provision for his dependants. Again, even when the whereabouts of the liable relative are known, the dependant may not be able to enforce his or her legal claim to maintenance without outside help; an obvious example of this inability is that of the abandoned child. The general approach to the question of the prior liability of relatives under the nation-wide schemes of assis-

tance operating in Ceylon, Egypt and Japan is on the same broad lines, but there are some variations in practice.

174. Under the Poor Law Ordinance of Ceylon, in any case in which a person in receipt of relief is liable to be maintained or relieved by a member of his family the municipality concerned has the power to recover from the liable relative the cost of assistance granted during a period of six months. A different attitude is taken, however, in the case of deserted wives who are assisted under the public assistance scheme in those parts of the country where the Poor Law Ordinance is not applicable. In this instance, the onus is placed upon the woman by providing that "Women deserted by their husbands are granted a reasonable period but not exceeding three months within which to commence proceedings for maintenance or alternatively to supply satisfactory evidence of their inability to take proceedings. If and when a maintenance order is obtained or if the deserted wife does not prosecute proceedings for maintenance with diligence any monthly allowance which has been granted will be cancelled. If a maintenance order is obtained, but the deserted wife is unable to secure payment owing to circumstances beyond her control, she is granted public assistance if otherwise eligible."

175. The action taken by the Social Security Department in Egypt, as set forth below, is similar to that followed in the administration of the Poor Law Ordinance in Ceylon.

"If a person eligible for pension or assistance has a legally responsible relative who is bound to pay him alimony, but fails to do so, the benefit may be paid and the Social Security Department has the right to sue the relative in question before the competent court on behalf of the beneficiary or intervene in any legal action brought by the latter. The Social Security Department, after securing final judgment regarding alimony can be reimbursed the sums it has paid or is paying within the limits of the alimony decided by the court."

The position in Japan under the Daily Life Security Law is recorded as follows:

"The support by the person who is under obligation to furnish support under the provisions of the Civil Code must be provided prior to the public assistance... When there is a person who is under obligation to support the recipient in accordance with the provisions of the Civil Code, the prefecture or the city which has disbursed the assistance expenses may collect the whole or a part of such expenses from the said person within the limit of the said obligation. When, in this case, the administrative organ of assistance and the person under duty to furnish support fail to reach an agreement, or negotiation is impossible concerning the amount of expenses to be borne by the latter, the Family Court will fix the above-mentioned amount on application from the administrative organ of assistance."

176. The problem of the alternatives between maintenance by a legally liable relative or by a public assistance administration does not

arise to any extent in the remaining six countries. In most countries, however, there is some legal or administrative machinery for proceedings to be taken against parents who neglect their children to such an extent that they have to be cared for and maintained by a governmental or voluntary organization. In Bolivia, for instance, the National Children's Board or the police try to obtain from a head of a family who fails to maintain his children a written undertaking to carry out his obligation. This undertaking can be the basis of a civil action if it is not complied with. On the other hand, it is recorded of the same country that "old people and orphans are accommodated in State or voluntary institutions even if there are relatives liable to support them". Similarly, in Chile, there are legal provisions under which parents are obliged to support their children, legitimate or illegitimate, and failure to comply with this obligation is punishable by a fine or imprisonment (see para. 47 above).

CONDITIONS AS TO RACE AND NATIONALITY

177. In any country where there is a substantial alien community, the question whether needy members of that community shall benefit equally with the country's own nationals in any scheme of assistance is one of some difficulty and may well involve political issues. Such a problem exists in Ceylon with its important Tamil population—mostly of Indian nationality—in the rural districts, mainly employed on tea and rubber plantations. The proprietors of these plantations are required to comply with special laws relating to the welfare of the Tamil labourers, including the provision of food, medical requirements, housing and water supply and maternity benefits. Under the procedure in force at the time of writing, a resident of Ceylon (including a Tamil) who is not a Ceylonese national by birth may, in certain circumstances, acquire Ceylonese nationality by registration, but any person who is not recognized as a Ceylonese is not eligible for assistance under the general public assistance scheme. There is, however, no similar discrimination as to nationality under the three municipal schemes. In Egypt, an alien may establish an entitlement to a non-contributory pension if he has resided in the country for ten consecutive years, provided that the country of which he is a national affords reciprocal treatment to Egyptian nationals; the condition as to residence is not imposed in the case of an alien who seeks help under the Egyptian scheme of social assistance. In Japan assistance, under the Daily Life Security Law, is available to all "citizens" of that country.

178. An interesting example of complete non-discrimination on grounds of nationality is afforded by the administration of the Municipal Relief Committee for the cosmopolitan city of Tripoli (Libya). Members of the minority communities of Jews, Italians and Maltese are equally eligible with Libyan nationals to receive

assistance and these communities are represented on the Relief Committee itself. Whilst there is no discrimination as such between the indigenous, mestizo and white populations of Bolivia, Chile and Ecuador, the fact that the limited schemes of assistance which exist are almost entirely confined to the towns means that, in practice, little or no benefit is derived by members of the Indian communities who, more commonly, live away from the urban districts. The question of racial or national discrimination does not arise in Burma in the absence of any real scheme of assistance, but it is noteworthy that an alien may be deported or expelled "if, being indigent, he is a danger to public security and is not repatriated by the country of origin".³⁰

RESIDENCE QUALIFICATIONS

179. Residence qualifications are of two kinds. Firstly, a qualifying period of residence within the boundaries of a country and secondly, a qualifying period of residence within a particular district, municipality or local authority area. The first condition is, in general, applicable, if at all, to aliens; the second arises most frequently where there are local rather than national schemes of assistance, but it may also occur where the rates of cash allowances under national schemes vary from one part of a country to another. An example of the first kind of qualification is one referred to, namely, the exclusion in Egypt of all aliens who have not been resident in the country for ten years from the non-contributory pension scheme. Egypt also affords an example of the second kind of residence condition due to the fact that the rates of pension in the towns are higher than in the rural districts. One of the provisions of the Law on the Social Security Scheme reads as follows:

"If a pensioner changes his place of residence from an urban to a rural area, or *vice versa*, the amount of pension shall be modified according to the new status with effect from the first of the month following the date of transfer from the urban to the rural area and from the first of the month following the expiration of six months from the date of transfer from the rural to the urban area."

It will be noted that the effect of this differentiation in time limits is to discourage a pensioner from moving from a rural to an urban area in order to obtain a higher rate of pension.

180. As aliens are excluded from the public assistance scheme in Ceylon unless and until they are registered as Ceylonese nationals, there is no residence rule in that country comparable to that in force in Egypt; on the other hand, length of residence is a factor in the grant of Ceylonese nationality by registration and therefore, indirect-

³⁰ *Study on Assistance to Indigent Aliens*, United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1952.IV.1, para. 61.

ly, in the entitlement to assistance. The existence of separate systems of assistance in three municipalities in Ceylon results in a further example of the second type of residence qualification. Each of the three municipalities operating their own locally-financed schemes of assistance under the Poor Law Ordinance has imposed a different residence qualification, as follows: Colombo, three years' continuous residence up to the time of application for relief, with an aggregate of ten years' residence; Galle, continuous residence for six months or an aggregate of eighteen months; Kandy, two years' continuous residence. In the case of Colombo, (where the rates of relief are the highest in the island), an arrangement has been made with a non-governmental organization, the Friend-in-Need Society, to provide assistance to those needy persons who do not satisfy the residence qualification, since they are also debarred from the benefits of the central government scheme of public assistance which does not operate in the three municipalities.

181. In spite of the fact that the rates of assistance under the Daily Life Security Law of Japan vary considerably as between various prefectures and municipalities, no conditions as to length of residence are imposed. The governor of a prefecture or the mayor of a city is authorized by the Law to administer assistance to:

- (1) Persons requiring assistance whose place of residence falls within the area of jurisdiction of the welfare office operated by him.
- (2) Persons requiring assistance with no determined place of residence, but whose present abode falls within the area of jurisdiction of the welfare office operated by him.

The explanation for this absence of any local residence qualification appears to lie in the fact that 80 per cent of the expenditure on assistance in all parts of the country is borne by the central government. A similar position arises in Libya where, following the practice which existed before the incorporation of Tripolitania in the newly-formed United Kingdom of Libya, the whole cost of the relief scheme in Tripoli is borne not by the municipality, but by the provincial government. It is believed, however, that the Municipal Relief Committee would not, in practice, be willing to authorize the issue of a poor card to someone who had recently come into the city without good reason, particularly if the person concerned came from a place outside Tripolitania.

Chapter VI

THE ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY

CENTRAL AND LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

182. The central and local government structures of the countries with which this report is concerned, as they have evolved over the years, represent a wide variety of patterns resulting from a combination of geographical, religious, political and racial factors. This variation in pattern is reflected in differing degrees of administrative and financial responsibility of municipal and other local authorities for internal affairs in relation to the corresponding responsibilities of the provincial and central government. The execution of schemes of assistance for the needy inevitably involves some form of decentralized organization, whatever the extent of central control, and against the general background it is hardly surprising that there should be little similarity between the forms adopted by the different countries. Reference will be made in the first instance to the basic plan followed in each of the three countries (Ceylon, Egypt, Japan) which have nation-wide schemes of assistance.

The outstanding feature, to which more than one reference has already been made, is the existence of two parallel systems, namely, a public assistance scheme administered and financed entirely by the central government and three separately administered and financed municipal poor law schemes based on a common ordinance. The possibility of any overlapping between the two systems is eliminated by their well defined territorial jurisdiction. The administration of the public assistance scheme, which extends to the whole country outside the three municipalities, is controlled by the Department of Social Services within the Ministry of Industries, Housing and Social Services. Responsibility for local administration is delegated to the government agents in the nine provinces and the assistant government agents in the twenty revenue districts. Government agents and assistant government agents are also known as revenue officers and subordinate to them are divisional revenue officers who are required to handle applications for assistance as part of their functions as representatives of the central government. This utilization of the services of revenue officers and their offices (*Kachcheri*) obviates the necessity to set up a separate decentralized organization for public assistance purposes, and to this extent there should be consequent saving in administrative costs. The principle of using the local units of the general administration of the central government is carried a stage further by the employment of village headmen for the investigation of applications. In those areas where public assistance work is heavy, trained social service officers, belonging to the Department of Social Services, are

attached to the *Kacheheri* to assist the divisional revenue officer. The system of administration provides for District and Local Public Assistance Advisory Committees under the chairmanship of district and divisional revenue officers; members of the District Committees include Members of Parliament for the area in an *ex officio* capacity, as well as other persons appointed by the Minister on the recommendation of the revenue officers. It is stated that, in practice, it has not been found easy to form Local Committees in some areas and that in others difficulty is experienced in arranging meetings. As their title suggests, both the District and Local Committees have advisory functions only; the decision on an individual application rests with the government agent or assistant government agent on the basis of a report furnished by the divisional revenue officer after checking the information given by the village headman.

An assistance scheme confined to a single town does not, of course, present the same administrative problems as a nationwide system. Each of the three poor law municipalities in Ceylon has set up a separate organization to deal with applications for relief. In Colombo, a number of "relieving officers" have been appointed under the supervision of the Charity Commissioner, who controls the Public Assistance Department on behalf of the Public Assistance Committee. There is also a Public Assistance Committee in Kandy, where "poor law officers" are employed. In Galle, the Municipality has delegated its functions to local (ward) sub-committees, which receive reports from a "registrar and investigating officer".

Egypt

The administration of the non-contributory pensions scheme and the social assistance scheme, both of which are financed entirely from central government funds, is controlled by the Ministry of Social Affairs, in which there is a Social Security Department. The Ministry, in common with other ministries concerned with the internal administration of the country, has hitherto operated through its own separate decentralized organization of district and regional officers rather than through municipalities and local authorities. It is intended, however, to delegate greater powers to local administrative units in the future. Proposed developments in the organization of the Ministry of Social Affairs are described as follows:

"In harmony with new trends under the present system, the Ministry of Social Affairs has adopted a decentralized and integrated system with regard to its services. It became effective in October 1953 in four districts—two governorates, including Cairo, and two provinces—and will gradually cover the entire country. Under this scheme there will be so-called social units in the localities, each serving a population of about 30,000. The social unit provides all the services of the different programmes of the Ministry of Social Affairs, and works under the supervision of provincial departments. To these provincial departments wide powers and authority will be delegated with regard to the different programmes which they administer. The central offices of the Ministry will function as a policy-making body with national supervision over the above-mentioned divisions."

The decentralized organization of the Social Security Department comprises 18 social security inspectorates established in the provincial capitals and governorates. Each inspectorate controls a number of social security offices which have been set up in towns and villages to handle individual applications and

to serve a territory of between 50,000 to 60,000 inhabitants. There are over 300 such offices, each staffed with a social worker and a clerk. In addition to the inspector himself, each inspectorate comprises a number of technical and clerical staff. The Social Security Act provides for the adoption of the principle of "citizen participation" in the administration. To apply this principle at the national level, it is proposed that an advisory body, to be known as the Higher Council of Social Security, shall be set up "to advise on matters of policy concerned with the operation of the scheme and to help in co-ordinating the efforts of the various persons engaged in the social security field". The principle of citizen participation at the local level has been implemented by the formation of Social Security Committees which are described as follows:

"These committees are to be found in administrative divisions covering a *gism* (county), *markaz* (large district), *bandar* (small district), police outpost or village. In towns they function under the chairmanship of the *manour* (the representative of the central government) or his deputy (head of police station) and a number of volunteers chosen by the Social Security Department; in villages under the *omda* (mayor) with the membership of the Sheikhs of balad (Chief of a section and assistant to the *omda*) and the *sarraf* (tax collector). A number of interested volunteers comprised of citizens of good reputation may be chosen by the Social Security Department to represent the people and work as members on these committees."

Japan

At the central government level, responsibility for the administration of the Daily Life Security Law rests with the Ministry of Social Welfare. There are six "Bureaux" within the Ministry, one of which is known as the Social Affairs Bureau. This Bureau is in turn divided into five sections, dealing respectively with general affairs, protection, rehabilitation, life improvement and welfare institutions. The functions of the General Affairs Section include the "guidance and supervision of the administration of welfare officers" whilst the Protection Section is concerned with the enforcement of the Daily Life Security Law other than in relation to the administration of protective institutions, responsibility for which rests with the Welfare Institution Section. The administrative structure below the central government level is described as follows:

"The most important units among local public bodies are the prefecture, the city, the town and the village. The governor of the prefecture or the mayor of the city, town or village is in charge of administrative matters and executes the business entrusted by the State or other public bodies. Public assistance is administered by the governor or the mayor to whom authority in this respect is delegated by the State. Therefore, the governor or the mayor, as the administrative organ of assistance, is directed and supervised by the Minister of Welfare."

The Social Welfare Service Law of 1951 provides for the formation of welfare districts and the setting up of welfare offices by cities and prefectures. The welfare officer is concerned with the administration of the Daily Life Security Law as well as the Child Welfare Law and the Law for the Welfare of Disabled Persons. There is one welfare office in each of the smaller cities; in the five largest cities (including Tokyo) separate welfare offices have been established on the basis of one office for approximately 100,000 people. The rural areas

are covered by offices provided by the prefectural governments. The staff of each office includes trained case-workers and case-work supervisors.

Under the terms of the Daily Life Security Law, financial responsibility for meeting assistance costs, including maintenance of protective institutions and administrative costs, is divided, on a regional basis, between the central government on the one hand and the prefecture or municipality on the other, on a 4 to 1 ratio, the assumption being that the prefecture will raise 20 per cent of actual assistance costs and that the central government will contribute the remaining 80 per cent. In fact, however, low-income prefectures may be unable to raise the required proportion of their assistance costs and, since the central government's contribution is based on a fixed proportion, the actual funds available may fall short of regional requirements.

The cost of equipping protective institutions is shared equally between the central government and the prefecture or municipality.

An important feature of the local administration of the Daily Life Security Law is the organization of voluntary workers in what is known as the welfare commissioner system. The function of these unpaid workers is described as "the protection and guidance of persons in need, in the spirit of serving the community". Their specific duties include the following:

- (1) To conduct social investigations and to be familiar with the condition of neighbours;
- (2) To co-operate with welfare officers in the enforcement of the Daily Life Security Law, and to give proper protection and guidance to those who need protection.

In August 1953, there was a total of approximately 120,000 welfare commissioners, of whom 23,000 were women.

183. Turning to the other six countries dealt with in this report, the administration of the municipal poor card system in the Libyan capital of Tripoli is in many respects similar to that of the three municipal schemes in Ceylon. The organization provides for the employment of a number of relief inspectors or investigators, supervised by a chief inspector and reporting to a relief committee. The ministerial structure of the Federal Government of Libya does not include provision for a ministry of social welfare or its equivalent; "labour and social security" are among the matters for which the legislative power is vested in the Federal Government, whilst the executive power is vested in the provincial governments.

184. The Government of the Union of Burma included, until 1953, three separate ministries dealing with matters of assistance. These were the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation, the Ministry of Social Services and the Ministry of Works and Rehabilitation. The general field of assistance to the needy now comes under the jurisdiction of two ministries, the Ministry of Relief and Resettlement and the Ministry of Social Welfare. The former is chiefly concerned with the problems of refugees and displaced persons who

have been rendered homeless or destitute as the result of the insurgent conditions, but it is also concerned with the victims of national disasters. It has a central organization in Rangoon and in every district of the country, operating through district and township committees consisting of the principal local officials and representative "elders". The central organization includes five mobile teams of trained workers who are available to go outside Rangoon to assist the district or township committees. While the organization of the work of the Ministry of Social Welfare at the district level is in the process of development, it may be noted that the Ministry's Directorate of Women and Children's Welfare guides and supervises the activities of appropriate local organizations throughout the country.

185. Iran, like Libya, has no central government department corresponding to a ministry of welfare, but one of the functions of the Ministry of Health is the "free care of the indigent sick"; the Ministry of Labour supervises the Workers Social Insurance Organization. The only other government organization which is concerned with the provision of assistance to the needy (mainly in the form of institutional care) is the Municipality of Tehran.

186. In spite of the fact that none of the Latin American countries dealt with has, as yet, developed a formal scheme of continuing assistance, each of them has established an elaborate structure of ministerial departments and quasi-governmental organizations concerned with social welfare. Bolivia has a Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, which includes a Directorate of Social Welfare; but the Ministry of Hygiene and Health is also responsible for a number of welfare services (including the control of children's homes). This duplication is ascribed to the fact that the two ministries were combined until 1944. Under an Executive Decree of 1948, a National Welfare Council was set up "composed of all institutions having relations with the Ministry [of Labour and Social Welfare] for the sole purpose of the allotment of funds, without stipulation, as to the type of welfare work, the number of persons assisted or the type of assistance". The territorial administrative arrangements are described as follows:

"Bolivia is not a federal State and the Government is therefore centralized and controls the public administration through the prefects of departments. The departments have regional offices with functions corresponding to those of the central Ministries. The country is divided into departments, provinces, cantons and sub-cantons. The chief administrative officers of departments, provinces and cantons respectively are prefects, sub-prefects, and *corregidores*. The departmental authorities are responsible for the control and supervision of the local police forces, public welfare agencies and social work, except in La Paz, the seat of the Government, where welfare work is the direct responsibility of the Minister of Social Welfare. On a smaller scale, the provincial authorities perform the same functions as the prefects. The municipal authorities are independent of the foregoing authorities by virtue of their

direct appointment by popular vote and the provisions of the Constitution. Associated with them are the honorary municipal councils and community boards which voluntarily undertake programmes of civic improvement and participate in voluntary welfare work such as the sponsoring of childrens' clubs or local functions for charitable purposes. For the most part the community boards work in conjunction with the Catholic parishes and, through lady members of the Board, run local and parochial welfare agencies."

187. The Government of Chile includes a Ministry of Health and Welfare, but the public body known as the Central Board for Charities and Social Assistance, like the Directorate-General for the Protection of Children and Young Persons, is regarded as part of the National Health Service. Under a Decree of July 1953, the former Labour Social Service became known as the National Welfare and Social Welfare Assistance Service. The organization is responsible for "co-ordinating and directing the activities of public and semi-public municipal or private institutions carrying out community assistance or welfare work". In addition to providing some forms of help itself, including assistance to victims of accidents or national disasters, it is proposed that the Service should establish a central national social assistance register, which is described as "a record of all individuals or family groups receiving aid from public or private institutions on grounds of need or indigence". The Service, as reorganized in 1953, is immediately subordinate to the Office of the President of the Republic and for administrative purposes is associated with the Ministry of the Interior. Under the Organization and Powers of Municipal Authorities Act, each commune or group of communes is required to have a municipal authority for the administration of local interests. Included among the functions of each municipal authority is "assistance to public welfare organizations" and, as part of its educational function, the maintenance of the school breakfast service (see para. 115 above) and the provision of clothing for destitute pupils.

188. Ecuador has a Ministry of Social Welfare and Labour which controls a number of subordinate bodies, including the Public Assistance Organization (the title given to the Medical and Hospital Services) and the Directorate-General of Child Welfare Homes. The two organizations known as the Social Workers' Service and the Workers' Welfare Service (see para. 120 above) are also controlled by this Ministry.

THE METHOD OF MAKING APPLICATION FOR ASSISTANCE

189. Available information in the country monographs on this point is limited to Ceylon, Egypt, Japan and the city of Tripoli, as set forth below.

Ceylon

Under the public assistance scheme, application is generally made to the revenue officers or district revenue officers. It can also be made to the village headman, who is required to forward the application with his recommendation. In the three poor law municipalities, the application is made to the relieving officer, poor law officer or registrar, as the case may be.

Egypt

The method of making an application for a pension under the non-contributory scheme or for social assistance is described in a leaflet issued by the Ministry of Social Affairs for the benefit of potential applicants as follows:

"If you belong to one of the above categories, buy an application form from the nearest post-office or the *sarraf* [tax office] and fill it in. If you meet with any difficulty consult the Social Security Official who will give you all the necessary guidance. Send the form, duly filled in, by mail, to the Social Security Office of the area in which you reside, or take it to that office yourself... It is preferable that you enclose with your application all documents proving the information given in that form, such as your birth certificate, or those of your children, or death certificate of the husband, if obtainable."

The requirement to purchase an application form is unusual but is presumably imposed to discourage unwarranted applications. Upon receipt of an application form, the social worker carries out an "intake interview" before forwarding the form to the local Social Security Committee.

Japan

The procedure is described as follows:

"The grant of assistance is made on the basis of an application submitted by the person requiring assistance, the person under duty to furnish support or other relatives living with him. In case, however, where the person requiring assistance is under pressing circumstances, necessary assistance may be provided even though no application has been submitted... Usually the applicant for assistance goes to the welfare office and submits an application. Then the intake interview is conducted in the interviewing room to obtain from the applicant data as to his eligibility and other information which he can give in regard to his need, and to establish a satisfactory working relationship with the applicant. The importance of this application process or first contact to determine the relationship that is to continue between the client and the agency has gradually been recognized. The intake worker should give each applicant a brief statement on the procedures and policies of public assistance and explain the applicant's rights and responsibilities under the programme."

It is explained that in rural areas where the nearest welfare office is some distance away, applicants are not required to go in person to the welfare office, application being made through the village or town officer. In such cases the "intake interview" forms part of the first visit to the home for investigation purposes (see para. 190 below).

Libya (Tripoli)

A person living in Tripoli wishing to obtain a poor card makes application in writing or in person to his Sheikh of Quarter (the local municipal official

responsible for one of the 22 quarters or sections into which the city is divided). Although given the title of sheikh, this official has no tribal status, since the tribal structure plays no part in the city's administration. In general, however, like the village headmen in Ceylon, he has an intimate knowledge of most, if not all, of the families living in his quarter, and is a man of considerable local standing. Unlike the headmen in Ceylon, however, the sheikh has discretion to decide whether or not to bring a particular application to the notice of the Municipal Relief Committee but, if he does do so, he will at the same time express his views on the merits of the application.

INVESTIGATION OF CIRCUMSTANCES

190. It is an essential part of any scheme of assistance based on ascertained need that as much verified information as possible should be available as to the applicant's circumstances, such as the number and ages of his dependants, any special needs which he or they may have as the result of illness or disability, his liability (if any) for house rent and any source of income in cash or kind which may be available to him or any member of his household. Regardless of whether the applicant is required to give this information orally or in writing at the time of the application, it is usual and most desirable that the position be ascertained by a visit to his home. In fact, where documentary evidence in support of the applicant's statements is not available, such a visit may be the only practical way of verifying those statements. The investigation methods adopted in the various countries for which this information is available are set forth below.

Ceylon

The practice in the three poor law municipalities is similar. The relieving officer (in Colombo), the poor law officer (in Kandy) or the registrar and investigating officer (in Galle) makes the necessary home inquiries as a preliminary to preparing the case for decision. Outside these municipalities, investigation at the home is carried out by the village headmen in the first instance or, in the case of some of the other municipalities, by members of the local Friend-in-Need Society acting as agents for the central government. "The headman has personal knowledge of all residents in his area and he is in a position to assess the income of each of the applicants." One of the functions of the social service officers on the staff of the Department of Social Services is to give advice to headmen on the method of investigation. In the same way, one of the objects of setting up local advisory committees (see para. 182 above) is to provide some check on the recommendations of the headmen.

Egypt

A different procedure is adopted, depending on whether the application is for a pension under the non-contributory scheme or for social assistance. In the former case, the application is referred by the social security officer to the local Social Security Committee, which is expected to undertake

"... compilation and verification of the particulars or documents within a period not exceeding one month from the date of receipt by the Committee. The social worker of the Social Security Office then reviews the applications,

makes the social investigations, recommends eligibility or otherwise and estimates the assistance."

Applications for social assistance, unlike those for pensions, are not referred to the Social Security Committees but all the necessary investigation and verification is undertaken by the social worker. The difficulty of establishing an applicant's correct age for purposes of pension entitlement is envisaged in Article 20 of the Social Security Law in the following terms:

"Every man or woman without a husband who can prove by an official document that he or she has attained the age of 65 years shall be entitled to old age pension.

"In the absence of any official document establishing the attainment of that age, no pension shall be payable unless it is proved by medical examination that the above age has been attained. One of the considerations to be taken into account in assessing the age shall be the applicant's degree of incapacity for work on account of old age."²¹

After an application has been accepted and a case folder prepared, the case is referred to a "visitor" by the casework supervisor. The visitor will normally be the official responsible for the territory in which the applicant lives. A visit to the home is made at the earliest possible date following the receipt of the application. The purpose of the home visit is described as being

"... to know the applicant's situation thoroughly and accurately, or to obtain verified information relating to his eligibility for public assistance... Here the worker observes the applicant's family and his home and surroundings. The information obtained in the home is very important as the basis of future planning."

Libya (Tripoli)

Investigation is undertaken by a relief inspector of the same nationality as the applicant; in addition to a number of Arab inspectors, an Italian inspector (for Maltese as well as Italian applicants) and a Jewish inspector are employed by the municipality. In addition to obtaining certain prescribed details of the condition of the family, such as the ages and resources of the various members, the relief inspector is required to make some general comments on the merits of the claim to guide the relief committee to which the application is eventually submitted. The inspectors (all of whom are male) work under some difficulties. In the case of Moslem applicants, they have to obtain the consent of the Sheikh of Quarter before they can call at a home and, even then, if the head of the household is away, it is more than probable that they will be refused admission because of traditional customs as regards the relations between men and women. Partly for this reason, much of the inspectors' information about particular families is obtained from neighbours or local shopkeepers.

²¹ *Social Welfare in Egypt*, p. 148.

THE DECIDING AUTHORITY AND THE RIGHT OF APPEAL

191. It is desirable that the administrative arrangements of any scheme of assistance should include provision for a responsible local official or representative body to be empowered to give a decision on an individual application without undue delay. This decision has to be based on the ascertained facts of the particular case in conjunction with the legislative or other provisions governing eligibility and the calculation of the amount to be awarded. Reference of an individual case to a remote controlling authority must result in delay, and it may also mean that a decision is made without adequate knowledge of local conditions. It is also desirable, particularly where the decision rests in the hands of an official or any other single individual, that dissatisfied applicants be afforded the right of appeal. The pertinent arrangements regarding the operation of the schemes in a number of the countries under consideration are set forth below.

Ceylon

The procedures in the three poor law municipalities are as follows: In Colombo the Charity Commissioner has been authorized by the Public Assistance Committee to sanction payment for relief in the individual case, but a list of sanctioned cases must be submitted to the Committee; in Kandy, the decision is taken by the Public Assistance Committee, which requires the personal appearance of the applicant and his dependants; in Galle, the decision is made by the local sub-committee for the ward in which the applicant lives on the basis of the investigating officer's report. Although there is no formal right of appeal under any of the three municipal schemes, it is understood that each municipal council is willing to examine any request for reconsideration. Under the public assistance scheme operating in the rest of Ceylon, the decision to grant assistance is made by the competent government agent or assistant government agent on the basis of the report submitted by the divisional revenue officer, who is also chairman of the local Advisory Committee. An applicant who is not satisfied with the decision of the government agent or assistant government agent can appeal to the Director of Social Services or to the Minister of Industry, Housing and Social Services.

Egypt

Applications for both pensions under the non-contributory scheme and social assistance are decided upon by the Social Security Inspectorate of the provincial administrations on the basis of reports submitted by a social worker of the local Social Security Office, and, in the case of pensions, after the papers have been referred to the local Social Security Committee. The applicant is not only notified of the decision but also of the reasons for it. The facilities for appeal are described as follows:

"The Social Security Act gives the applicant or beneficiary the right to file an appeal, within three months of the date of notification, against the rejection of an application, a particular assessment of allowances or a determination of the cause or degree of disability. The Inspectorate must decide on the appeal and communicate its decision to the petitioner within one month of the date of the petition. Furthermore, the petitioner has the right of

appeal against the decision of the Inspectorate to the Director-General of the Social Security Department, who must decide on the appeal within sixty days. The decision in this respect shall be final. The applicant is thus given two opportunities to express his views and to point out any errors that may have been made by the Social Security Offices or Inspectorates. His rights are therefore fully guaranteed. The administrative rules and regulations of the scheme re-emphasize the importance of the self-respect of the individual claimant as a citizen exercising his rights. The entire procedure has placed much emphasis on this principle and on the need not to humiliate the claimant or to deprive him of any rights."

An interesting provision of the appeals procedure is that the prescribed appeals form must be purchased (in the same way as the original application form) but, if the appeal is successful, the cost of purchase is refunded.

Japan

Decision on each case is made by the Director of the Welfare Office on the basis of reports of the case visitor and the case supervisor. The Welfare Office is required to notify the applicant of the decision within 14 days of the receipt of the application, but in special circumstances, such as difficulty in investigating the financial position of a person who is under legal obligation to support the applicant, the period may be extended to a maximum of 30 days. The applicant has a right of appeal against the decision of the Welfare Office to the Ministry of Social Welfare.

Libya (Tripoli)

The Municipal Relief Committee decides upon applications on the basis of reports made by the relief inspectors. An applicant is not required to attend meetings of the Committee (he is usually known previously to at least one member), but the inspector may be required to amplify his written report on the circumstances of the case by an oral statement. There is no right of appeal.

It may be noted here that it is indicative of the limited number of cases in which any direct governmental assistance is given in the three Latin American countries dealt with in this report that in one of these countries a ministerial order is required for each award.

THE METHOD OF PAYMENT

192. Arrangements for ensuring that an award of assistance, whether in cash or kind, is implemented by regular payment or issue of goods present no serious problems in a compact urban area, but difficulties may well arise in a widely scattered rural territory which is not served by public offices with the necessary facilities. Information on the appropriate arrangements, drawn from the various country monographs, is set forth below.

Ceylon

No special problem appears to arise in the three poor law municipalities. As regards the arrangements for payment under the public assistance scheme, it is noted that monthly allowances are, as a general rule, made at the *Kachcheri*

(the office of the government agent or revenue officer) itself to those who reside within reasonable distance of a *Kachcheri*. Others are paid at the post offices and sub post offices nearest their residences. Arrangements are, however, available for the payment to persons in remote areas who reside at a considerable distance from a post office or sub post office through the divisional revenue officers in their offices or circuit offices. When beneficiaries are sick and unable to attend at the paying office, there is provision for the payment to be made to the duly authorized agents on behalf of the beneficiaries.

Egypt

"All benefits are paid in cash payment directly to the individual to spend in his own way, except in mass disasters. Each beneficiary is issued a *sarki* (booklet) on the authority of which the benefit is payable to him in monthly instalments. Assistance payments cannot be assigned or passed to any other person, or they are liable to seizure."

Japan

"The assistance money or subsistence allowance in kind are delivered to the head of the household in advance, within the limits of one month's allowance... The assistance money or goods already delivered to the recipient or his right to receive them shall not be attached." (It is understood that, in practice, the head of the household attends at the Welfare Office each month to collect his allowance.)

Libya (Tripoli)

As noted earlier (see para. 143 above), the basic assistance under the Tripoli poor card system is provided in the form of a specified number of rations and that only a minority of recipients receive a small cash payment in addition. Holders of poor cards draw their rations each month from a firm of contractors employed by the municipality who maintain a special shop in the centre of the city. Rations are available upon production of the poor card during the first twelve days of each calendar month, each recipient being allocated a "shopping day" according to the quarter of the city in which he lives. Cash payments are made each month upon production of the poor card at the Municipal Offices.

DIFFICULTIES OF ADMINISTRATION

193. Any large-scale scheme of assistance designed to meet the needs of a wide variety of human beings presents its own special administrative problems. The more extensive the territory and the greater the diversity in conditions from one part of the territory to another, the greater the administrative difficulties. These difficulties are increased very considerably where a high proportion of the population is illiterate, where means of communication between centres of population are very limited and where some of the more isolated communities are to all intents and purposes cut off from the rest of the population, at any rate during some seasons of the year, due to the paucity of transport facilities. For reasons indicated in chapter I, however, formal schemes of assistance are rarely appropriate in the case of rural communities.

194. In the conditions of less-developed countries there will inevitably be difficulties in finding persons who are sufficiently well-educated to be able to serve in the administration (whether as office employees, social workers and home visitors, or members of committees) quite apart from their suitability in other respects to undertake work which calls for special qualities of shrewdness, knowledge and sympathetic understanding of the problems of their less fortunate fellow-countrymen. Even in the simplest forms of assistance schemes, reports on, and records of, the individual applicant for assistance are essential and, in the absence of a competent and reliable staff, there is a risk of decisions being taken on the basis of inadequate or inaccurate information, with the result that the administration is brought into disrepute. Moreover, it is desirable that the grant of assistance should, whenever possible, be accompanied by constructive measures of social welfare; this calls for special training of the staff who are in direct contact with the recipients of assistance and their families. The need for trained staff has received special recognition in Japan, where, because of the educational standards of the country, the difficulties in recruiting suitable personnel encountered elsewhere do not apply; over 7,000 case workers are employed in the administration of the Daily Life Security Law and of these some 70 per cent are estimated to have completed a course of training covering a total of 250 hours. In Ceylon, the need for a nucleus of social workers in the administration of the public assistance scheme has been recognized by the stationing of a small number of trained social service officers in different parts of the country. Similarly, Egypt employs social workers at local social security offices. In Tripoli, on the other hand, the sole qualification required of the relief inspectors appears to be the ability to read and write the language of the applicants for assistance whom they are called upon to visit, although efforts are made to provide a certain amount of in-service training.

195. The prevalence of illiteracy among applicants for assistance presents problems of a different kind. It is not easy, for example, for an illiterate person to grasp the fundamental conception of a governmental scheme of assistance and to distinguish such a scheme from indiscriminate charity, such as the giving of alms to professional beggars. This lack of understanding, accompanied possibly by a feeling of suspicion, may give rise to reluctance to disclose all the information that is required in order to arrive at a proper assessment of the needs of a family or to failure to appreciate the seriousness of wilfully giving incorrect information. In the more developed countries, schemes of assistance usually require a formal signed declaration by the applicant on the basis of which appropriate action can be taken if it subsequently proves to be false. In these countries, also, certain of the information supplied, such as the date of birth of persons seeking assistance on account of old age or the proof of the existence of a legal marriage, can be supported by

documentary evidence, whereas it is less usual for documents of this kind to be in the possession of people in a country with a high rate of illiteracy. Thus, the non-contributory pension scheme in Egypt provides for the applicant's correct age to be estimated (see para. 190 above). A further difficulty is that all contacts between the applicant and the representative of the administration must be in the form of personal interview (often entailing a long and time-consuming journey), since communication by correspondence is largely impracticable. However, even where communication by correspondence is feasible and supporting documents are available, a personal interview between the applicant for assistance and a representative of the assistance organization is desirable and may well be essential.

196. Inadequate communication facilities are, of course, a serious handicap, especially when prior authority is required before any expenditure from central government funds is incurred at the local level. Similar considerations apply to the problem of central control to ensure the proper and uniform implementation of government policy in the field of assistance, regardless of whether advantage is taken of the existence of a general decentralized administrative machinery, as in Ceylon, or a separate nation-wide organization is set up, as in Egypt and Japan. It is significant in this connexion that in Egypt applicants are allowed up to three months to appeal a decision regarding pensions or social assistance. Exceptional difficulties of control and supervision due to lack of efficient transport facilities arise in those countries which cover large areas and where distances between towns may involve journeys of days rather than hours. Attention has already been drawn to the fact that, among the countries dealt with here, the three countries with nation-wide schemes of assistance are those in which the density of population is greatest. Communication and transport factors account in some measure for the restriction to a few of the largest cities—or even to the capitals only—of such limited provision for the needy as is made in the other six countries.

ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS

197. Where the funds available for providing assistance to the needy are strictly limited, as they are in most countries and nowhere more so than in the less-developed countries, it is clearly desirable to avoid a large proportion being swallowed up by administrative expenses and thus reducing still further the amount available for the actual relief of need. Because of the many widely divergent elements involved, it would be misleading to make a comparison between one country and another with regard to the ratio of the number of staff to the number of persons assisted. The schemes in Ceylon and Japan have been in operation for a number of years, while the two schemes in Egypt are only now about to emerge from

the organizational stage as far as certain administrative aspects are concerned. Any comparison between the data set forth below would therefore be wholly inappropriate.

198. The system of administration adopted under the public assistance scheme in Ceylon of utilizing the services and offices of government agents and of village headmen has obvious advantages in keeping administrative costs to a minimum in so far as it avoids the necessity of setting up a separate organization with its own local offices. Although, at the end of the financial year 1951-52, nearly 80,000 monthly allowances were being paid under the schemes throughout the island, the total staff of the Department of Social Services, exclusive of minor employees, was less than sixty. This compares with the employment of thirteen relieving officers, in addition to three senior officers, under the Colombo municipal scheme, where the corresponding number of cases was 11,000, concentrated in a compact urban area with all the administrative advantages which such concentration produces. In 1951-52, the cost of administration of the Colombo scheme amounted to approximately 13 per cent of the expenditure on assistance.

199. In 1951-52, Japan employed a total of over 7,000 case workers in the administration of the Daily Life Security Law, in addition to some 3,000 clerical workers, the total number of assisted cases at the end of the year being approximately 700,000. Over 800 separate welfare offices were maintained.

200. The pension and social assistance schemes in Egypt involve the maintenance of over 300 separate social security offices, each staffed with a social worker and a clerk, in addition to the eighteen inspectorates and their staffs. Recipients of pensions and social assistance in 1952-53 numbered about 84,000 and 26,000 respectively. It must be noted that neither scheme was in full operation at that time. The decision referred to earlier (see para. 182 above) to integrate the social security offices with other local social welfare organizations to form "social units" should have undoubted advantages from the point of view of economy of administration, quite apart from the wider benefits which should flow from closer contact between related services.

Chapter VII

FINANCIAL PROVISION FOR SCHEMES OF ASSISTANCE

CENTRAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT SCHEMES

201. A realistic comparison between the public expenditures on a particular service, such as education or health, between various countries presents a number of complications. Conversion of expenditure to a common currency basis at official exchange rates would be misleading because of the lack of a consistent relationship between these rates and local purchasing power. Even if it were practicable to adjust exchange rates to take account of the purchasing power factor, there remain other difficulties arising from differing fiscal systems and, in particular, the interrelation of the budgets of the central government and the various kinds of subordinate or local authorities, such as departments, provinces, prefectures and municipalities. In the case of provision of assistance to the needy, the position is further complicated by the fact that, except where there is an all-embracing, self-contained and separately financed assistance scheme, financial provision is made in many different ways—including subsidies to non-governmental organizations—and in some instances is combined with a number of other items under a general heading, such as "social welfare". In the case of Chile, figures of government expenditure on social insurance are combined with those on welfare and social assistance. There is the further difficulty that comparative figures for the same year are not always available.

202. In the notes which follow, no attempt has been made to draw comparisons between one country and another, except in so far as information is available regarding the proportion of expenditure on assistance schemes in relation to either the national income or to the total of government expenditure. Reference is made to any unusual sources of income which are used for purposes either directly or indirectly connected with the provision of assistance or which have been specifically created for this purpose. Although, as already noted, conversion of the income and expenditure figures of each country to a common currency basis at official exchange rates would lead to erroneous conclusions, some indication of the relative significance of the sums involved may be gained by consulting the table of official exchange rates for each of the nine currencies set forth in paragraph 17 above. Where figures of estimated national

income are quoted, they are drawn from the publication entitled *Statistics of National Income and Expenditure*,³² unless otherwise noted.

Bolivia (Estimated national income, 1950: 30,500 million bolivianos)

The bulk of the funds allocated by the State to social welfare agencies for assistance to the needy are provided under the national budget. In addition, the budgets of the various departments of the country, with the exception of that of La Paz (the seat of the Government), provide for certain funds to be allocated by the prefect to local welfare agencies and as a subsidy to national agencies operating within the department. Local revenue comprises departmental and municipal taxes with certain surcharges, the revenue from which is allocated to specific welfare agencies. A further source of revenue is the National Lottery, thirty per cent of the proceeds of which are allocated to the National Social Welfare Committee. (For the year 1952, this allocation amounted to 3.4 million bolivianos.)

The following figures are drawn from the budget for 1953:

	Million bolivianos	Percentage of total budget
Total, national budget	6,335.0	100.0
Social welfare budget	335.0	5.0
Health service budget	175.0	2.8
Total, budget of Department of La Paz	91.3	100.0
Expenditure on social welfare	1.8	2.0

A number of special extra-budgetary taxes are levied for specific purposes, such as the provision of food and clothing for needy schoolchildren, the *Patronato Nacional de Menores*, assistance to war victims (amounting to nearly 300 million bolivianos during the second half of 1953) and the maintenance of children's homes. These special taxes are levied on a variety of items, including entertainment and sports events, hotel accommodation, imported cigarettes and industrial and commercial sales. The special rates on the last mentioned item yielded 87 million bolivianos during the first half of 1953 and were applied towards the cost of benefits for war orphans and widows. The income from the other special taxes is relatively small.

Burma (Estimated national income, 1953: 4,033 million kyats)³³

As explained earlier in this report, the provision of assistance to the needy is, in the main, limited to victims of national calamities, but some indication of government expenditure on cognate social welfare services is afforded by the extract from the budget for 1954 set forth below:

³² *Statistical Papers, Series H, No. 5*, United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1954.XVII.2.

³³ United Nations *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, November 1955.

	Million kyats	Percentage of total budget
Total	1,265.0	100.0
Medical and Public Health:		
Hospitals and dispensaries	14.8	
General Public Health Services	6.3	
Equipment and supplies	2.2	
Maternity and infant welfare; care of orphans, waifs and strays; children's homes; homes for the aged and infirm, blind, deaf and dumb; other social services, including environmental sanitation and the National Fitness Council	8.4	
Welfare of women and children and child health services	4.3	
Other health expenditure	0.8	36.8
Education	78.4	6.2
"Charity", Famine and Evacuee Welfare and Relief	18.7	1.5
Pensions (Government employees only)	20.5	1.6

The difficulties in making financial provision for all forms of social welfare in the country's present circumstances are suggested by the fact that nearly one third of the budgetary provision for 1954 was for defence expenditure.

Ceylon (Estimated national income 1952: 4,410 million rupees)

The public assistance and poor law systems are financed separately; the former is a charge on the central government and the latter on the three municipalities concerned. The relevant extract from the budget for 1951/52 is set forth below:

	Million rupees
Total	1,023.0
All forms of social welfare (including health, education, etc.)	237.8
Of which	
Continuing assistance allowances	7.9
Casual relief	0.2
Grants to institutions for the aged, the blind, orphans, etc., and to other voluntary organizations	1.5
State homes for the aged and vagrants	0.4
Financial assistance to tuberculosis patients and their dependants (estimate for 1953)	2.9

* 0.98 per cent of total budget.

The expenditure of nearly 8 million rupees on continuing assistance allowances in 1951/52 compares with less than 1 million rupees in 1945 and less than 100,000 rupees in 1935. As regards the municipal poor law schemes, the Poor Law Ordinance of 1939 authorizes the levying of a special rate on all assessed property for the purpose of financing the cost of poor relief, but none of the three municipalities concerned has taken advantage of this power. The differences which exist in the provision made by the three municipalities under the Poor Law Ordinance and which, in some instances reflect their relative financial positions, are shown by the following figures for 1952:

<i>Municipality</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Expenditure under the Poor Law Ordinance</i>	<i>Expenditure under the Poor Law Ordinance per head of population</i>
Colombo	425,000	1,640,000 Rs.	4.0 Rs.
Kandy	57,000	57,000 Rs.	1.0 Rs.
Galle	56,000	46,000 Rs.	0.8 Rs.

The corresponding expenditure per head of population excluding the three municipalities, under the public assistance scheme, was just over 1 rupee.

Chile (Estimated national income, 1950: 110,758 million pesos)

Relevant figures drawn from the budget for 1953 are set forth below. It may be noted that expenditures on social welfare and social assistance is divided between the Office of the President and a number of ministries.

	<i>Million pesos</i>	
Total budget	47,464	
<i>Office of the President</i>		
National Welfare and Social Assistance Service (including help to victims of disasters)	15	
<i>Ministry of Finance</i>		
Retirement, invalidity and widows and orphans pensions and general expenditure for welfare and social assistance	3,482	
Subsidies to private welfare institutions	60	
Subsidies to institutions for the protection of young minors	29	
Subsidy to the Consejo de Defensa del Niño	23	
<i>Ministry of Education</i>		
School Assistance Committees (for meals and medical and social assistance to primary school pupils)	51	
<i>Ministry of Health and Social Assistance</i>		
State grants to welfare funds and expenditure for social assistance (including contributions to the Social Insurance Service)	1,564	5,224 ^a

^a 11 per cent of total budget.

The total provision for social welfare items of all kinds, including the National Health Service, amounts to approximately 10,000 million pesos or more than 20 per cent of the budget.

As regards expenditure by local authorities, municipal budgets do not give separate figures for social assistance expenditure, and the fragmentary statistics offered by some municipalities cannot be accepted as data typical of Chile as a whole. For example, the Municipality of Santiago, in its 1953 budget, appropriated 18.4 million pesos for school meals and 6.0 million pesos for grants to various social assistance institutions, most of them private. There are no general statistics covering municipal social assistance over the last few years and that service is currently being reorganized. This expenditure by local authorities for assistance to the needy cannot be accurately calculated.

Ecuador (Estimated national income, 1953: 7,691 million sucres)

Information as to government expenditure is not available, but the following figures of the income of the Ecuadorean Anti-Tuberculosis League in 1951 from special taxes are of interest:

	<i>Thousand sucres</i>	
Tax on imports and exports (1 per cent)	14,961	
Tax on imports (0.5 per cent)	3,306	
Tax on passport visas	728	
Tax on resident foreigners	710	
Tax on import permits (2 per cent)	1,690	21,395

This total of over 21 million sucres compares with a combined budget of the Social Workers' Service and the Workers' Welfare Service of only 120,000 sucres in 1950 and 60,000 sucres in 1951 (see para. 120 above).

Egypt (Estimated national income, 1950: £E 860 million)

The estimated cost of the non-contributory pension and social assistance schemes in 1952/53 was £E 5,950,000 but the budgetary appropriation was limited to £E 1,736,000, of which £E 1,240,000 was spent on the actual provision of pensions and assistance, so that large numbers of applicants were unable to benefit from the schemes (see also para. 205 below). This appropriation of about £E 1.75 million for social security allowances compared with a total government budget of £E 206 millions, of which over £E 40 millions were in respect of "social welfare" in the broadest sense, i.e., including education (£E 26 million) and public health (£E 8 million). The provision made in 1952/53 by the Ministry of *Wakfs* for expenditure on various forms of relief was £E 293,000, of which £E 140,000 represented "monetary monthly allowances for about 6,000 families". That expenditure is not, of course, a charge on the national budget.

Iran (Estimated national income, 1949: 42,000 million rials)³⁴

Until a few years ago, budgetary provision for assistance was limited to medical care, including the provision of free medical assistance to the needy

³⁴ *National and Per Capita Incomes in Seventy Countries, 1949*, United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1952.XVII.8.

in hospitals and dispensaries. An interesting development during recent years, however, has been the adoption of a series of legislative decrees for the imposition of special taxes, mainly for disbursement by the Municipality of Tehran in the interests of the poorer people of that city. The relevant provisions under the various decrees are shown below:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Commodity or service taxed</i>	<i>Area where applicable</i>	<i>Amount of tax or levy</i>	<i>Revenue assigned to</i>
1946	Telephone service	Tehran and Shemiran (resort area near the city)	20 rials per month per subscriber	Municipality concerned, for public assistance purposes
1950	Motor cars	Tehran	200 rials per month for each motor car	Maintenance of Aminabad Centre in Tehran
	Passports for travel abroad		900 rials per passport	Maintenance of Aminabad Centre in Tehran
	Customs clearance of all goods	Tehran	1 per cent <i>ad valorem</i>	Maintenance of Aminabad Centre in Tehran
1951	Railway and other fares for surface journeys commencing in Tehran	Tehran	10 per cent	Charitable institutions ^a
	Airline fares for journeys commencing in Tehran	Tehran	5 per cent	Charitable institutions ^a
	Incoming air freight	Tehran	15 rials per kilogramme	Charitable institutions ^a
	Tourists' bills in luxury, first and second class hotels and cabarets		10 per cent	Charitable institutions ^a
1952	Petrol		0.50 rial	Aid to the needy ^b

^a Proceeds to Tehran Municipality (50 per cent) and Council for Welfare Organizations (50 per cent).

^b To be used in accordance with regulations under the terms of which a Committee for Aid to the Needy is to be established in each town, commune and village, to use the proceeds of this tax for (a) provision of food, clothing and heated shelter for the needy; (b) purchase of equipment to provide work for the needy who are fit to work; and (c) construction of public buildings (schools, dispensaries, etc.) with any remaining funds

Japan (Estimated national income, 1953: 5,964,900 million yen)

In 1952, the total assistance under the Daily Life Security Law granted to people living in their own homes amounted to 28,784 million yen, distributed as follows:

<i>Million yen</i>	
Subsistence allowances	14,199
Medical aid	11,460
All other forms of aid	3,125

It is pointed out that in the larger cities, such as Tokyo and Osaka, more than half of the expenditure in recent years has been in respect of medical aid.

No simple satisfactory financial statement regarding the provision of assistance in recent years can be given, partly because of currency changes consequent upon the attainment of independence and partly because expenditure is undertaken by provincial administrations and, in some cases, by the special agency of the Government, the Libyan Public Development and Stabilisation Agency (see para. 136 above).

As regards the province of Tripolitania, the budget estimates for 1952/53 provided for Lib £51,000 for social welfare, the corresponding figure for 1953/54 being Lib £57,000. These estimates include the maintenance of the poor house in Tripoli and the re-education centres serving the capital. In Cyrenaica, with a population of rather less than half of that of Tripolitania, the budgetary provision for relief and re-settlement was Lib £1,865 in 1952/53 and Lib £3,400 in 1953/54.

In 1953, however, emergency relief was provided to both provinces through LPDSA in addition to funds provided by the provincial administrations themselves. Thus Cyrenaica budgeted Lib £80,000 for famine relief and LPDSA recorded an outlay of Lib £83,000 on famine relief, chiefly in the form of the relief distribution of barley. In Tripolitania the Agency reported its assistance in respect of relief works needed as a result of crop failure as likely to be much in excess of Lib £40,000. In the Fezzan, relief works and a considerable relief wheat distribution were undertaken by the Agency in 1953/54.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

203. Only fragmentary data are available in respect of the income and expenditure of non-governmental organizations in the less-developed countries which are directly or indirectly concerned with the provision of assistance to the needy. In most instances, only an approximate indication of the position can be given. From the comments, drawn from the various country monographs, cited below, it will be noted that in almost all the countries dealt with such organizations derive a substantial part of their income from government subsidies and, in a number of instances, virtually act as government agents.

Bolivia

"The private agencies rendering assistance to the needy are now handicapped by the fact that the income level of the moneyed class which used to maintain them has fallen by 80 per cent ... in many cases private institutions obtain 60 per cent of their funds from State subsidies and grants from departmental and municipal budgets... Increases or reductions of the State subsidies paid to voluntary institutions depend entirely upon the general financial situation which, in turn, depends upon the production and sales of strategic raw materials."

The allocation of funds including the profits from the National Welfare and Health Lottery, to non-governmental organizations is undertaken by the National Welfare Council. The budget allocation to the Council in 1951 was nearly 4,500,000 bolivianos. In 1952 the Council's share of the Lottery was 3,400,000 bolivianos. It is understood that, since 1953, there have been no government subsidies to non-governmental organizations.

Burma

The budget for the fiscal year 1952 included the following government contributions to non-governmental organizations:

	Kyats
School for the Blind, Pakokku	5,000
Leper asylums	648,000
Mary Chapman Training College and School for the Deaf and Dumb, Rangoon	4,500
Home for the Aged and Infirm	6,000
Vigilance societies and girls' homes	10,000
Care of orphans, waifs and strays	25,240

It is stated that "there is no State control whatever" of institutions which are so subsidized; the subsidy is provided from the country's general revenue and not from any specific tax. It is understood that there has been a substantial increase in the amount of government subsidies to non-governmental organizations since 1952.

Ceylon

The three municipalities which operate assistance schemes under the Poor Law Ordinance are empowered to make grants to non-governmental agencies. In Kandy and Galle, these grants are sanctioned by the Municipal Council itself; the Colombo Council has delegated the responsibility to the Public Assistance Committee.

The central government, in addition to the payment of capitation grants (at the rate of 20 rupees a month) to various non-governmental agencies which maintain establishments for orphans and old people, also makes grants of not more than half the capital cost of construction or extension of homes for old people and meets the whole cost of furniture and equipment. In 1951/52, the Government made grants to non-governmental agencies totalling nearly 1,500 million rupees (of which more than one half was in respect of orphanages) out of a total Public Assistance expenditure of approximately 10 million rupees. In the same year, the Colombo Municipality made similar grants amounting

to 95,000 rupees out of a total expenditure under the Poor Law Ordinance of 2,113,000 rupees; the corresponding figures for the combined expenditure of Kandy and Galle were 16,450 rupees out of a total of 125,000 rupees. It is estimated that in 1952, non-governmental agencies spent about 1,117,000 on the poor.

Chile

"The Ministry of Finance subsidizes many private institutions throughout the country... another important factor in the part played by municipal authorities in assistance to the needy is that of the subsidies granted in their budgets to private and religious welfare organizations such as homes for the aged, children and the destitute, school colonies, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, the Red Cross, the school for deaf mutes, parish schools and social organizations, clinics, societies for the blind, anti-cancer and tuberculosis leagues, etc."

The budget for 1953 included an appropriation by the Ministry of Finance of over 60 million pesos for "subsidies to private welfare institutions" that is four times the amount allocated by the Office of the President "for help to the needy and to victims of disasters". In referring to the expenditure of non-governmental organizations, the monograph includes the following statement:

"Nor are there any statistics of expenditure by private organizations for the support of the numerous institutions for assistance to the needy operated by the Church or by private individuals and maintained from their own property or by contributions, donations, legacies, members' subscriptions and collections. The following private institutions have supplied figures of their expenditure in 1952:

	<i>Pesos</i>
<i>Patronato Nacional de la Infancia</i>	10,157,482
<i>Protectora de la Infancia</i>	7,338,201
<i>Hogar de Cristo</i>	4,800,000
Society of St. Vincent de Paul (1951—home help) ..	1,230,517
Society of St. Vincent de Paul (Ladies' Section) in Santiago, Valparaiso, Concepción and Temuco ...	3,979,852

"Much greater sums, amounting to a considerable total, are contributed by way of private donations over the country as a whole for assistance to the needy and for the maintenance of charitable institutions. Furthermore, the figure indicated for the *Hogar de Cristo* represents only cash expenditure; the institution's actual expenditure, allowing for the ample donations it receives in kind, is much greater."

Ecuador

It is stated that 98 per cent of all private institutions receive State subsidies, but that the Ministry of Social Welfare and Labour has no control over the operation and administration of the institutions which, in one form or another, are subsidized under the budget.

Egypt

There has been earlier mention of the expenditure on relief of the Ministry of *Wakfs* (see para. 202 above) and of the approximately 3,200 private social

agencies registered with the Ministry of Social Affairs (see para. 101 above). As noted, the private agencies, having a total budget of about £E 2,123,600, spent about £E 150,000 on relief work in the fiscal year 1952/53. Their income is generally derived from contributions and donations by interested individuals. The Government subsidizes certain organizations, including those engaged in relief distribution, according to their activities in their respective fields. In the fiscal year 1952/53, the Ministry of Social Affairs allotted £E 168,000 for this purpose in its budget. In the same period, 360 private organizations received government grants.

Iran

Information as to the financial resources and expenditure of the two principal non-governmental agencies includes the following:

1. *The Imperial Charity Foundation*

Financial resources

- (a) A credit of 60 million rials from the Government in return for the transfer to the Government of the estates owned by the Foundation;
- (b) The yield of a levy of 0.5 per cent on all foreign currency transactions connected with imports into Iran;
- (c) A share of the National Lottery;
- (d) Donations by private individuals.

The biggest item of expenditure by the Foundation in 1952 appears to have been over 1.5 million rials for the operation of 60 dispensaries. Another item was the grant of one million rials to the Ministry of Education for the publication of books for poor families—a reversal of the more usual procedure whereby non-governmental agencies are subsidized from government funds.

- 2. *The Red Lion and Sun Society*. The total income of the Society in 1951 amounted to nearly 29 million rials, of which 12 million rials were provided by the yearly allocation from the budget of the Ministry of Health.

Other sources of income included the following:

- (a) Property transferred to the Society as a gift;
- (b) Voluntary contributions from business and industry;
- (c) The sale of special stamps;
- (d) Fund drives;
- (e) Members' annual subscriptions;
- (f) Casual gifts.

As regards non-governmental organizations generally, the view is expressed that "The charitable organizations... are not exclusively private in character since their funds are mainly derived from the national budget. The public cannot be said to provide effective voluntary help, nor do such organizations in fact owe their existence to public support".

The development of the principle that "relief is the obligation of the State" has resulted in a tendency to discourage non-governmental organizations from participating in the administration of schemes of assistance for the needy. In

particular, there appears to have been a deliberate policy of reducing the amount of subsidies to non-governmental relief agencies on the ground that "The system of subsidies from public funds to provide social work enterprises and charities, as has been customary, must be restricted in order not to allow the public authorities to shift responsibility on to the shoulders of private welfare workers". One result of this policy is reflected in the statement that "the number of private institutions has recently been decreasing because of the shortage of funds".

Libya

Until recent years, the main source of income of the local Moslem Relief Committees in Tripolitania was the "levy on rations", in connexion with the general food rationing system, but it is understood that this source of income is no longer available and that subsidies from the Tripolitania Relief Fund are apparently the major source of revenue. This Fund derives its income from the proceeds (amounting in 1950 to the equivalent of some Lib £12,000) of a lottery and is, in fact, the principal means by which assistance is afforded to the people of Tripolitania outside the capital city; it is also the source of a substantial proportion of the income of the Tripoli Moslem Relief Committee. Since Libya attained independence in 1951, a somewhat greater degree of governmental control has been exercised over the administration of the Fund, with the result that effective use is made of the Fund in supplementing the limited governmental provision for the needy. This is another instance of a voluntary organization providing rather than receiving a subsidy. The relatively small income available to the *Wakfs* organization in Libya for distribution to the poor means that, unlike the corresponding organization in Egypt, it is unable to make any real contribution to the relief of material need. Most of the other non-governmental organizations in Libya are primarily concerned with the needs of the Italian community and are connected, directly or indirectly, with the Roman Catholic Church. These organizations depend for their income on contributions from members of the Church, including the parent Church in Italy.

Chapter VIII

THE ADEQUACY OF EXISTING SCHEMES OF ASSISTANCE

204. There are probably few countries in the world with schemes of assistance so comprehensive as to assure any person in need, for whatever reason, and regardless of the part of the country in which he may be living, of a cash income or other form of maintenance which is "adequate" in the sense that he may be able to enjoy a level of living sufficient not only for the preservation of health but also of reasonable comfort. The word "adequate" in the context of assistance must, of course, take on different meanings in different countries, according to the customs and standards of life in those countries. It is necessary to reiterate that in the less-developed countries as a whole the level of living of a large part of the population in terms of food alone is frequently inadequate in the sense that it does not ensure a satisfactory degree of physical fitness. In some of these countries, the question of what represents an adequate income by way of assistance may often resolve itself into the amount sufficient to prevent actual starvation; at best, the assistance provided cannot be expected to do more than ensure a level of subsistence not much below that of the majority of the people of the country. In addition to the adequacy of the amount of assistance provided for a particular family or individual, there is also the question of the adequacy of schemes of assistance in so far as they are not comprehensive in scope. This lack of comprehensiveness may arise from restriction to certain categories of needy persons (such as widows and orphans) or from territorial limitations resulting in less provision, or more likely no provision at all, being made for people living in certain parts of the country. Even where legislation provides for a nation-wide scheme of assistance bestowing an entitlement on all who are in need through whatever cause, the implementation of the legislation is very often frustrated by lack of sufficient financial resources at the disposal of the responsible authority. Indeed, in order to keep within the budgetary provision, the assistance authority is all too often faced with the dilemma of either restricting the number of recipients of assistance or else reducing the amount to be granted to the individual to a level which is so low as to be quite insufficient to provide anything approaching subsistence.

205. On this important question of adequacy the views of the authors of the monographs must naturally be of special significance,

since the question is not so much one of arithmetic as of the results which are achieved. These results can only be properly assessed by first-hand observation. It is proposed to refer first to the question of the adequacy of the assistance schemes in each of the three countries (Ceylon, Egypt and Japan) which have nation-wide schemes, and subsequently to the other six countries where such schemes as exist are on a much more limited scale.

Ceylon

Under the public assistance scheme operating outside the three poor law municipalities, the maximum rate of assistance to a single person is 10 rupees a month and to a person with dependants 20 rupees a month. Maximum allowances are said to be granted "only to the most meritorious cases". The upper limit of 20 rupees a month for a whole family compares with the estimated *per capita* income (1949) of just over 24 rupees a month and with the following average monthly earnings of workers engaged in tea growing and manufacturing in September 1951:³⁵

	<i>Rupees</i>
Men	48.46
Women	33.44
Children	26.93

These figures give ample evidence of the application of the condition that "the position of the recipient of public assistance is not made more favourable than that of his fellowmen". The fact that a child can earn more than the total assistance income available to an entire family must inevitably throw doubt on the adequacy of that income, but it is nevertheless recorded that "in the areas outside the three municipalities, the rates of public assistance are satisfactory, though the scope is limited to some extent due to lack of funds". The description "satisfactory" is, no doubt, related in part to the very considerable increase in the funds devoted to assistance during recent years. As regards the reference to lack of funds, it is stated that "assistance is granted by the government agents or assistant government agents according to the degree of urgency, as funds made available will not be sufficient to meet all the cases recommended as deserving assistance". This would account for the general statement that "the provision cannot be regarded as adequate except in the Colombo Municipal Area". It is understood that while funds are normally allocated to the various provinces and revenue districts on the basis of the rates of assistance and the estimated number of entitled applicants, it has been necessary for the central government in recent years to "limit provision to the more deserving cases".

As regards the municipal poor law schemes, the fact that in Colombo (population 425,000) there were, in 1952, over 11,000 cases of continuing allowances (as compared with fewer than 80,000 public assistance cases outside the three municipalities) and that these allowances were some 50 per cent higher than those under the public assistance scheme, suggests that, even allowing for the higher cost of living in a large town, the provision of assistance in the capital compares very favourably with that of the rest of the country, both as regards coverage and amount. This is admittedly not the position in Kandy and Galle.

³⁵ Department of Census and Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Ceylon, 1952* (Colombo, Government Publications Bureau), table 113.

where "the rates of assistance and the number assisted are low, due to the inadequate finances of these two local authorities". It is stated that the majority of recipients in Kandy receive 5 rupees a month or less and that in Galle "almost all get 7 1/2 rupees a month or less". These figures, when compared with the rates of wages quoted above, suggest that the poor law relief payments cannot provide anything approaching subsistence. Moreover, although the combined populations of Kandy and Galle amount to approximately one quarter of that of Colombo, the number of relief recipients in the former two towns is only about one seventh of the corresponding number in the capital. It seems to follow from the information available that, so far as the needy residents of Kandy and Galle are concerned, the ultimate effect of the Poor Law Ordinance of 1939 has been to place them in a less favourable position than the rest of their fellow countrymen as a whole and in a very much worse position than the people living in the capital.

Egypt

The formulation of adequate standards of assistance under the social security scheme was the subject of considerable research before the inauguration of the scheme.

"The standard of need under this scheme was established on the basis of a study conducted on selected samples in some urban and rural communities. It was a statistical survey of the conditions of low-income families, both in rural and urban areas, based on a sample of towns and villages representing the whole country. The Egyptian Statistical Department, in co-operation with an expert from the International Labour Office, planned and supervised this study, which was carried out by 191 social workers. It is considered to be one of the most extensive surveys that was ever carried out in a rural country. The basic needs for the minimum standard of living under this scheme include food, shelter, clothing and miscellaneous items such as house equipment, light and similar other necessities of life."

It might well be assumed that, as a result of these painstaking preliminary inquiries, the level of assistance eventually decided upon would be sufficiently high to ensure an adequate standard of subsistence. It was, however, realized that the adoption of a standard of living figure based upon these inquiries would have had the effect of placing "assisted" families in a better financial position than large numbers of "working" families. It was, therefore, necessary to re-adjust the scales of assistance in order to reduce the amounts so as to fall below the legal minimum wage. Moreover, because of the provision that no account is to be taken of any members of a family in excess of four, a household consisting of, say, a totally disabled man, his wife and four or five dependent children, receives an allowance no greater than one where there are two children only. It is said of the rates of pensions and assistance that "the level of monthly payments evidently fails to meet the needs of the individuals adequately. They are below the standards of needs of human life, as is clear from the study made to establish these rates... limiting the grants to four members in the family minimizes to a great extent the value of the assistance, especially when accompanied by such very low rates".

Other provisions pertaining to the adequacy of the Social Security scheme as planned are as follows:

- (1) Continuing allowances under the non-contributory pension scheme are limited to families or individuals in need as the result of the death of the breadwinner, complete disability or old age;
- (2) The maximum rate of pension in a rural district is approximately 75 per cent of that for an urban district;
- (3) Allowances under the social assistance scheme are limited to a maximum period of two years and there is no legal entitlement as there is under the pension scheme.

In addition to these limitations, the new system had a serious setback as a result of the decision to make a drastic cut in the budgetary provision for the fiscal year 1951/52 (the first complete year of operation), with a corresponding reduction in the succeeding year. On the basis of the preparatory survey, it was estimated that the cost of the scheme in 1952/53 would be between £F 5 and 6 million, whereas the budgetary provision for that year was limited to £F 1.75 million only. The consequences of this reduction are described as follows:

"The number of needy persons actually receiving pensions in the fiscal year 1952/53 is 84,413. Beneficiaries of social assistance numbered about 25,800 persons. There are 37,786 persons who applied for assistance and proved to be eligible for pension but who were deprived of pensions because of lack of appropriated funds. Many other thousands of needy persons throughout the country applied for pensions but were not investigated because of the reduction of the budget and the consequent impossibility of granting pensions. . . About 436,000 persons were expected to be eligible for the four categories of pensions in addition to the groups of population expected to be covered under the social assistance programme... this means that the 84,413 persons actually receiving pensions under the social security scheme constitute about one fifth of the persons in need of material assistance... about 80 per cent of the population are deprived of assistance because of lack of funds set aside by the State for this purpose."

Although the necessity for making the reduction in the budget is not questioned, it is clearly unfortunate that very large numbers of needy people should have their hopes raised, first by the passage of a law and then by being subjected to an investigation of their circumstances, only to discover that, in spite of their established legal entitlement, they could not be afforded assistance because of the lack of funds. Initial difficulties of this kind afford an object lesson to other countries of the dangers of embarking upon a relatively ambitious scheme until it is beyond doubt that the necessary financial resources will be available.

Japan

From the point of view of coverage, the Daily Life Security Law could not be more adequate, since one of its fundamental principles is that the existence of need, irrespective of its cause, affords an entitlement to assistance. This means that not only can the able-bodied person who is wholly or partially unemployed be granted assistance (which is not the case in either Ceylon or Egypt) but, even more unusual, assistance can be given to supplement earnings, whether from self-employment or as an employee. Although the number of earners who are so assisted is comparatively small in relation to the total number of earners in the country, the fact that they can be so assisted is of considerable significance and might have far-reaching consequences in the absence of a proper control of rates of wages.

As regards the amount of assistance afforded in each individual case, the Daily Life Security Law requires that "the assistance should be provided effectively and adequately". The minimum standard for the purpose of the Law is laid down by the Minister of Welfare and it is claimed that with the successive revisions of this standard it has gradually approached to the average level of living of the people, although the difference is still very big. In the course of the calculation of this minimum standard, exhaustive inquiries seem to have been made into minimum food requirements in terms of calories. Similarly, "the standards of housing and clothing were first determined on the basis of satisfying the necessary conditions to maintain the existence of a person. These standards were corrected thereafter by reference to the customary level of living of the recipients and wage-earners". The whole survey for the purpose of determining the minimum standard of living was carried out with almost mathematical precision, account being taken of the average monthly expenditure on such items as replacement of household equipment and even the purchase of newspapers and writing material. In addition, calculations were made as to the varying expenditure on fuel and light according to the season of the year. The resultant figure of 7,200 yen a month (as at January 1953) for a family of five people living in a big town compares with an estimated expenditure of nearly 19,000 yen a month for an "average citizen" with a similar family. With regard to expenditure on food, the estimate for a family receiving assistance was nearly one half of that of a family of an "average citizen", but the proportion for expenditure on all other items, including housing, education and recreation, was only about one third.

In spite of the precise calculation of the legal minimum subsistence standard, laid down by the central government through the Minister of Welfare, the actual position resulting from the practical application of the Daily Life Security Law varies on a regional basis, due to the distribution of responsibility for assistance costs on a fixed ratio between the central government and the prefecture or municipality (see paragraph 182 above). The resulting situation does not appear to be too satisfactory, judged by the following comments:

"Assistance levels vary widely among the prefectures. In April 1953, the average monthly payment of subsistence allowance per person ranged from 1,467 yen in Tokyo to 398 yen in Kagoshima. The low-income prefectures are handicapped by having a relatively greater amount of need and having limited resources available to meet that need. It should be noted, however, that there are a lot of limitations and problems to be solved in connexion with the present schemes... the standard of assistance is extremely low. According to social research on the living conditions of the recipients conducted in various areas, it has been proved that the present standard of assistance is never adequate to maintain even the minimum subsistence level. It is urgently required that the national appropriation be increased and the standard of assistance be raised sufficiently to guarantee a minimum level of healthy living."

Japan, like Ceylon and Egypt, is thus faced with the problem of being unable to fulfil legislative requirements because of lack of sufficient financial provision.

206. Those countries which do not have nation-wide schemes of assistance must, on the face of it, be regarded as having inadequate provision for the relief of need. But this generalization calls for

some qualification. In the first place, there may be parts of a country where organized schemes of assistance in the form of maintenance allowances are not warranted because of the strength of communal or tribal ties and the general way of life, as for instance that of the Bedouin in the Libyan desert. Secondly, there may be local schemes, sponsored by either government or non-governmental organizations, or both, which result in reasonably adequate provision in the circumstances of the locality. Of the six countries in this category, comments are available regarding two (Burma and Iran) where schemes of assistance are virtually non-existent in any part of the country:

Burma

"With regard to both the Government's provision for public assistance and social insurance, and the methods used in this respect, we may say very definitely that they are highly inadequate. But the Government has realized the shortcomings in these matters and has planned many measures, such as the introduction of social insurance, co-ordination of the present social services given by welfare organizations, carrying out welfare and social services through welfare committees at various levels, democratization of local administration, expansion of co-operatives, etc."

A regional assistance scheme, known as the Payagi Project, was recently put into effect in the Payagi area, some 60 miles north-east of Rangoon, near Pegu, as well as in some other villages outside that area. Under that scheme, there is a daily collection of rice from each landlord in the village. The food so collected is sold weekly or monthly at prices slightly below the prevailing market figure. The proceeds from this sale are paid into a communal fund administered by a committee, the fund being used to grant assistance in cash or kind, free or in the form of a loan, as cases of special need arise in the village. In some of the villages which have adopted this system a substantial balance has accumulated within the space of a few months.

Iran

"Assistance to the needy in Iran is of a provisional nature. It is neither co-ordinated at the national level, nor is it provided according to any recognized standards. The facilities for assistance, of whatever kind, are entirely disproportionate to the needs of a population which is exposed, through ignorance, to the dangers of contagious disease and complications arising from its ignorance of even the most elementary rules of hygiene."

207. The situation in the Latin-American countries dealt with here is less clear-cut than in either Burma or Iran because of the multiplicity of government and non-governmental agencies (more particularly in Chile) which are concerned, in one form or other, with the meeting of need and the sharp differentiation between conditions in the urban and rural districts. The overall picture in the three selected countries is, however, one of serious inadequacy, both at the local and the national level.

Bolivia

"The State institutions and private agencies cover barely 25 per cent of the country's needs... In practice, assistance cannot be provided for all needy cases owing to the limited funds appropriated and the few forms of assistance provided for. The funds appropriated are generally used up in the first half year; additional sums can, however, sometimes be obtained by special appropriations or by the transfer of funds appropriated for similar purposes."

Chile

"Benefits are usually limited by the funds available, the number of applicants assisted and the amount of assistance given, depending on the budgets of the various agencies.

"The institutions which provide assistance always have more applications than they can grant... the applications on the waiting list of the Council for the Protection of Children—which increase in number when there are disasters, such as floods or earthquakes, are evidence that means of assistance are inadequate to meet present needs... All assistance institutions agree that the relief which they give is insufficient and that very many individuals and families go without assistance owing to lack of adequate funds."

Ecuador

"Attention has already been drawn to the lack of plans and programmes for social assistance which would cover the majority of the needy in a given geographical area, a lack which is even more apparent in the case of plans for specific categories of needy persons... In the provinces, and particularly in the small cantons, social assistance is very restricted and is confined almost entirely to an annual distribution of food to the aged poor and to beggars by monastic or ecclesiastical bodies in co-operation with their confraternities."

Libya

Whilst there is a formal scheme of continuing allowances in Tripoli, there is, with the minor exception of a small town near Tripoli, no similar scheme in any other town in the country. Even allowing for the fact that in those parts of the country where the tribal influence is still strong, government schemes of assistance would be inappropriate as well as impracticable, the general position is one of inadequacy. As regards the Tripoli scheme, this must, in itself, be regarded as being far from adequate to meet the need which exists in that city, as is made clear by the following comment:

"The annual amount allocated to the scheme is the equivalent of 56,000 U.S. dollars, representing some 90 per cent of the total allocation for all relief purposes for the whole of Tripolitania, although the population of Tripoli is only 15 per cent of the whole territory covered by the [provincial] budget. Even with this quite disproportionate provision, the amount available for a city of 142,000 is just over 1,000 dollars a week, representing, incidentally, about 5 per cent of the expenditure on the Tripolitanian police and prison service. Because of this severely restricted financial provision, the scheme can only cater to a limited number of destitute persons, and that on a parsimonious scale. That it does not even suffice to eliminate cases

of extreme poverty is indicated by the number of beggars to be seen about the city, some of whom are known to be beneficiaries under the scheme."

The funds at the disposal of the local Moslem Relief Committees in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica are, in general, so limited that the Committees are unable to do more than to provide occasional gifts in cash or kind.

As will be noted from the information quoted (see para. 202 above) regarding the cost of famine relief in Libya, expenditure necessitated by emergency conditions is very much in excess of the provision made for those in need in normal circumstances.

Chapter IX

THE PREVENTION OF NEED BY SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

PREVENTION OF NEED MORE IMPORTANT THAN PROVISION OF ASSISTANCE

208. The principle that prevention is better than cure has no less application to need than it has to disease. Indeed, it is held in some quarters that the conception of alleviating need by what are described as "doles" or "charity" is a luxury which any country, least of all a less-developed one, can ill afford and that the right approach is to raise the general level of living without recourse to direct assistance in cash or kind. Even those who accept the view that it is desirable to make some special provision for those people of a less-developed country who are in greatest need point out that such provision by itself makes no constructive contribution to the economic development of the country and cannot, therefore, be regarded as having a high priority. Such a view is succinctly expressed in the monograph on Burma in the following terms:

"Giving public assistance is not the most important consideration for Burma at the moment. Right now, the task of primary importance for her is to increase the standard of living of her people which the Government is trying its best to achieve."

209. The suggestion that public assistance schemes cannot be regarded as having a high priority is not confined to Burma. Thus, the monograph on Libya states that

"Given the present economic and social condition of the country it would be quite unrealistic to suggest that the setting up of a national system of social assistance is of primary importance or is readily practicable. Clearly... it is essential to concentrate on improving the economic position of the country by raising the productive capacity of its main industry, namely, agriculture."

The question of public assistance in Libya was also referred to in the report of the Chief Economist of the United Nations Mission of Technical Assistance in the following terms:³⁶

³⁶ *The Economic and Social Development of Libya*, United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1953.II.H.8, pp. 151 and 152.

"A distinction may be made between 'social development' and 'public assistance'. The former would refer to programmes and projects to raise the level of productivity, by improving the conditions under which people live and work. The term public assistance would then be restricted to projects and programmes for raising the standard of living of the needy through schemes of public and private relief, in a manner not calculated to raise productivity. Thus education, public health programmes, improved housing, training of blind persons, rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents and convicts, better treatment of orphans, and the like would fall into the category of social development; such programmes contribute to the productivity of the present or potential labour force. Care of the aged, or of the elderly blind, substitution of public relief for begging, and so on, would not raise productivity and would fall into the public assistance category.

"The present team has come reluctantly to the conclusion that Libya cannot afford to divert to schemes of public assistance funds made available for economic and social development. Using development funds for public assistance would be no solution for Libya's social problems; the only solution is to raise the *per capita* income, and in so far as possible, to redistribute it through taxation, social security legislation and so on."

210. Clearly, if the economic conditions and social customs prevailing throughout a country were such that the burden of maintaining all those who cannot do so themselves was accepted, both in principle and in practice, on a tribal, community or extended family basis, the need for public assistance schemes would disappear, at least in the absence of any calamitous conditions such as a crop failure. Although something approaching such a situation does exist in parts of some less-developed countries as the result of the continued effectiveness of a tradition of mutual aid, in no country can it be assumed to obtain universally. Furthermore, its influence is tending to decline.

211. Schemes of assistance need not necessarily be unconstructive in the sense of adding nothing to the productivity of the country. Assistance to the needy makes a positive contribution to economic development when it ensures a decent standard of life for the growing children, maintains the fitness of the temporarily unemployed, enables the sick to be restored to health more quickly or ensures rehabilitation of the physically and mentally handicapped or the morally delinquent. It is only in the case of the aged and those whose physical or mental handicap is so severe that they are beyond rehabilitation, that public assistance schemes can be said to be based solely on humanitarian grounds. Even where these last two categories are concerned, there may well be some consequential economic advantages arising from the redistribution of income and the resultant increase in the purchasing power of the population. For instance, it is understood that one of the factors leading to the decision to introduce the non-contributory pension scheme in Egypt was the desire to improve the home market for some of the country's products.

SOCIAL INSURANCE AND FAMILY ALLOWANCES

212. Of all forms of social development, the one most directly related to the prevention of need is social insurance, since its fundamental principle is to provide the means of maintenance in those contingencies which most commonly give rise to need. From almost every point of view, benefits payable under a scheme of social insurance are more satisfactory than allowances paid under a scheme of public assistance. So far as the insured person is concerned, he has the satisfaction of knowing that he has acquired contractual rights by virtue of the payment of contributions and that he will not be subject to an investigation of his circumstances or be denied benefits because he has been thrifty enough to accumulate savings. Moreover, unlike the applicant for assistance, he is not likely to be in danger of finding that payment is not forthcoming or has to be seriously reduced because of insufficient financial provision; although in conditions of economic instability he may find that his fixed rate of benefit has depreciated in purchasing power. From the government's point of view, even if, as is not unusual, the social insurance scheme provides for the State, as well as the worker and his employer, to be a contributing partner, the cost to public funds is likely to be much less than the financing of a comprehensive public assistance system. Moreover, the charge on public funds of a State contribution is steady and predictable, whereas the finances of a public assistance scheme may be subject to a serious drain because, for instance, of a widespread epidemic. A further, if less important, advantage is that the administration of social insurance is frequently undertaken by an independent "carrier", thus relieving the government of the day-to-day responsibility. Ideally, a social insurance scheme should be so comprehensive that there is little or no occasion for public assistance. This was the basic conception of the Beveridge Plan in the United Kingdom. The fact that the demand for assistance on a needs basis has continued to increase since effect was given to the principles of the Beveridge Plan suggests that there are, in practice, very considerable difficulties in obviating the need for public assistance by the extension of social insurance, even under conditions of full employment in an industrialized country. These difficulties are accentuated by inflationary conditions resulting in a decline in the purchasing power of insurance benefits calculated on an actuarial basis. Even under the most favourable conditions, there is a residual role for public assistance in supplementing insurance benefits in individual cases and in providing an income maintenance service for those who have no entitlement to those benefits.

213. The circumstances of most of the less-developed countries do not easily permit adoption of comprehensive and universal systems of social insurance. The most serious obstacle is that the majority of the active population are almost invariably engaged in agriculture, usually as independent peasants. Although it is not

essential that a worker should have an employer to be covered by social insurance on either a compulsory or voluntary basis, the inclusion of self-employed persons presents a number of serious practical difficulties. In the first place, they (or the government) must pay a very much higher (and possibly prohibitive) contribution to make up for the absence of an employer's contribution. Secondly, the collection of contributions and the ascertainment of entitlement to benefit present a formidable administrative task. Even the collection of contributions in respect of agricultural workers employed on a cash wage basis (such as on the *haciendas* and plantations in Latin America) involves considerable practical difficulties; such workers are usually distributed in small groups over a wide territory and their low wages leave little or no margin for the deduction of contributions. Agricultural workers are frequently excluded from social insurance for these reasons.

214. Apart from the above-mentioned administrative difficulties, experience has shown that attempts to introduce compulsory social insurance are frequently unwelcome both to employers and workers. In the case of the employer, the requirement to make contributions to the insurance fund represents an effective increase in his wage bill. In the case of the worker, whether or not he has an employer, his contribution may well appear to him to be in the nature of a tax for which he receives no immediate return or any guarantee that he will personally derive any benefit in the future. The basic principles of social insurance necessarily meet with less understanding and acceptance in a country where a high proportion of the adult population is illiterate.

215. In the case of the independent peasant, the fact that the bulk of his income is generally in kind and that he may not have sufficient cash income to pay contributions add to the difficulties of the absence of an employer and of wide geographical dispersal. Whilst the payment of contributions in kind is not beyond the realms of possibility, it obviously raises very real practical problems and could only be contemplated after actual experience in the insurance of independent workers outside of agriculture as well as of agricultural workers employed on a cash wage basis.

216. The broad position is, therefore, that, whilst maximum coverage by social insurance (including insurance schemes operated by employers or jointly by trade unions and employers) is eminently desirable as a measure of preventive assistance, there are severe practical limitations in any country where self-employed peasants predominate.

217. It will be seen from the information contained in appendix II that social insurance schemes (in addition to provision for workmen's compensation) are in operation in Iran and Japan and, on a very limited basis, in Libya as well as in each of the three Latin American countries. In general the schemes are limited to employees in

commerce and industry (i. e., they exclude the agricultural population) and do not, as a rule, cover the risk of unemployment. It will be noted, however, that Japan has developed a scheme of national health insurance (as distinct from the separate sickness insurance scheme) which covers industrial workers employed on a cash wage basis as well as independent workers, including those engaged in fishing and agriculture. This scheme, which was originally of a voluntary character, and is limited to the provision of medical benefits, is based on the formation of local self-governing insurance carriers centred on a town or village. The high density of the population in Japan appears to be a factor governing the practicability of this scheme. In Chile, agricultural workers are also covered by sickness insurance, which includes the provision of hospital treatment and medical care for members of the insured worker's family.

218. It is understood that Burma, Ceylon and Egypt are contemplating the adoption of social insurance schemes and that proposals are being made for the extension and improvement of the scheme operating in Libya and the removal of the present discrimination between Arab and Italian workers.

219. It is not uncommon that newly-launched social insurance schemes, which necessarily involve complicated legislation and detailed actuarial calculations, encounter considerable difficulties in operation. In any event, there is the initial problem of payment of long-term benefits to persons who have paid contributions for a short period only, though many old-age and invalidity schemes provide for a minimum period of contribution of ten years or more. Such initial difficulties have been accentuated in a number of countries by post-war economic instability. As an example, it is suggested in the monograph on Japan that the general programme is, in practice, not very satisfactory and that, in consequence, "too heavy a load is imposed on public assistance".

220. The above-mentioned considerations suggest that, quite apart from the special and important problem of the independent peasant, the introduction of social insurance, besides presenting its peculiar difficulties, does not always immediately result in the large-scale prevention of need. But, as a long-term measure of social and economic development, and as the most satisfactory form of social security, there is little doubt that social insurance has a vital part to play in the prevention of need.

221. Under the sub-heading of "Children of large families" it was suggested earlier (see para. 119 above) that one of the recognized devices for obviating need due to the burden of dependency is a system of family allowances, but that this system can, in general, have little application to the conditions of the less-developed territories. However, in a number of countries, for example, in Bolivia, Chile and Iran, where steps have been taken in recent years to extend an existing scheme of social insurance, a system of family allowances

has been added to the scheme. In whatever way family allowances are paid, and whatever their long-term consequences may be in countries where an increasing population is already a serious problem, they are undoubtedly an outstanding example of a social development which comes within the category of "preventive assistance".

PROGRAMMES OF PUBLIC HEALTH

222. It follows from the close connexion between poverty and disease that development of public health programmes must make a vital contribution towards the prevention and alleviation of poverty both in the individual family and among the people of a country as a whole. A good deal of information has been assembled to show the serious economic consequences of disease and premature death. It has been estimated,³⁷ for instance, that in Ecuador the temporary loss of productive capacity owing to sickness results in an annual loss to that country of about 150 million sucres and that the combined loss attributable to shortened duration of life and to premature disablement is twice as great. It is not only the worker in industry who finds himself deprived of his normal income when he falls sick: the peasant and his family who are similarly afflicted at the critical times of sowing and harvesting may suffer a serious loss in their only means of subsistence.

223. The obligation upon the government of a country to do all that it can to improve the health of its people is not, of course, limited to purely economic considerations. As the Preamble to the Constitution of the World Health Organization states, "the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being".

224. It is outside the scope of this study to consider the way in which a government should undertake the task of improving the public health services or to enlarge upon the serious difficulties which face the less-developed countries where there are acute shortages of doctors, nurses and equipment. To serve its purpose, a public health programme must not, of course, be limited to preventive and therapeutic medicine but must extend to such questions as housing, sanitation, water supply and improved nutrition through the education of housewives. It is no less important that the programme be implemented in such a way that the health services are available not only to the urban population but also to the rural population, whether living in villages or in scattered communities.

225. From the point of view of this report, it must be recognized that when sickness is accompanied by a loss of livelihood, medical treatment by itself is not sufficient. Indeed, the expenditure on

³⁷ C.-E. A. Winslow, *The Cost of Sickness and the Price of Health*, World Health Organization. Monograph Series, No. 7, 1951, p. 13.

medical treatment may well be of no avail if it is not accompanied by measures to provide the sick person with an adequate subsistence until he is able to resume his normal occupation. A patient who is discharged from hospital to undergo convalescence in his own home is unlikely to recover his normal health if he cannot be provided with sufficient and proper food. As has been recognized in Ceylon (see para. 129 above) this consideration is of particular importance in connexion with diseases such as tuberculosis.

EDUCATION: SCHOOL FEEDING AND CLOTHING

226. The extension of education as an instrument for the reduction of poverty represents a parallel to the development of a public health programme for the same purpose. It is clearly desirable that the two should proceed together, if only because an uneducated person is unable to take full advantage of measures for the improvement of his health, and a person who is not in good health is unable to take full advantage of the educational facilities available to him. The long-term economic, social and cultural advantages of universal education are recognized almost without exception by the Governments of the less-developed countries, many of which have adopted legislation making primary education compulsory even though, in practice, the legislative requirements cannot as yet be fulfilled.

227. Arrangements for the feeding of necessitous school children have been developed in a large number of industrial countries since the beginning of the present century and have proved to be a most effective means of preventing the serious long-term consequences of malnutrition among the all-important child population. In the opening paragraphs of chapter III of this report attention is drawn to some of the practical advantages of utilizing the educational system to provide the children of needy parents with school meals and, to a lesser extent, with school clothing. It follows that importance must be attached to such physical aspects as the provision of cooking and eating facilities in the design of new school buildings in order to implement school feeding programmes. Thus full use may be made of a country's educational system to provide assistance to the needy at one vital level.

228. A programme of assistance through school feeding and school clothing which is integrated with plans for the extension of the educational system affords a practical example of the possibility of co-ordination between various branches of governmental administration, whether at the central, provincial or local level.

LAND REFORM

229. In those countries where the peasant community predominates, the major problem of need in its widest sense is associated with the agrarian structure, including such closely related questions as

unsatisfactory conditions of land tenure, the small size of farms, seasonal and general under-employment, insufficient capital, inefficient methods of cultivation and inadequate marketing facilities.

230. Given the strength of family ties and the conception of mutual aid which exists among people who derive their livelihood by the cultivation of the soil, no single factor can contribute more to the prevention of need than measures which are directed to improving the economic position of the peasant community as a whole by raising the productivity of the active members, thus enabling them to support those who for one reason or another are unable to support themselves. The peasant who is barely able to provide the essentials of life for himself and his wife and children, cannot be expected to concern himself with the maintenance of other and more distant relatives, however strong their claims for help may be on traditional and humanitarian grounds. But if he is enabled to increase his net income in cash or kind, it can reasonably be expected that the age-long customs will assert themselves and the wants of the aged, widows, orphans and the handicapped will be provided for.

231. It is clear from the information contained in the United Nations report entitled *Progress in Land Reform*³⁸ that, since the end of the Second World War, many countries, both developed and less-developed, have devoted considerable attention to improving their systems of land tenure. Among the problems to which a solution has been sought are those relating to excessive rents taken by landlords from tenant cultivators (under share cropping arrangements or otherwise), absentee ownership and the intermediate rent collector, and the concentration of a large proportion of a country's arable land in the hands of comparatively few owners. Many of the reforms introduced have had as their object the transfer of ownership to the peasant, while others have been concerned with the better distribution of the available cultivable land or with a reduction of the rent entitlement of the landlord.

232. Japan in 1946, Egypt in 1952 and Bolivia in 1953, introduced important and far-reaching land reforms, based on the transfer of land from large landowners to peasant cultivators. The Government of Ecuador has prepared draft legislation on the subject of land reform. As regards Iran, measures have recently been introduced to increase the peasant's share of the harvest by 20 per cent, and far-reaching steps have also been taken to modify the present systems of land ownership. In Ceylon, where the agricultural structure is affected by the existence of large tea and rubber estates, the machinery required to create a system of peasant proprietorship has been in existence since 1935, when the principle of allotment of

³⁸ United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1954.II.B.3. This report was compiled on the basis of information relating to the position in 1952-53 and, therefore, does not take into account a number of important developments within the last two or three years.

land on the basis of "vesting in perpetuity" was introduced by legislation. In Burma, the Government has already enacted legislation under the Land Nationalization Act and has begun to implement its provisions by purchasing land from the owners and redistributing it to tenant cultivators. In Libya, steps to improve the semi-feudal conditions existing in the Fezzan were taken by the French military administration prior to Libya's attainment of independence.

233. Measures designed to improve the economic position of the peasant are not confined to conditions of land tenure. In the countries of the Middle East, in particular, the problem of making the utmost use of the available water supply is all-important and the development of irrigation systems is fundamental to the prosperity of the peasant community; indeed the shortage of water in Libya is probably the greatest handicap to the raising of the level of living of the people. Other important steps are concerned with replacing inefficient methods of cultivation (including the use of crude implements) and animal husbandry by more up-to-date systems and equipment, bringing land which has hitherto been regarded as uncultivable into use, insurance against crop losses, arrangements for marketing through co-operatives and facilities for the granting of development credits. In Egypt, for instance, the provision of the Agrarian Reform Law relating to the establishment of agricultural co-operative societies represents a real attempt by a government to exercise supervision and control of the co-operative system. Under this provision, membership of the village co-operative society is made compulsory for all holders of 5 feddans (about 2.1 hectares) or less of land requisitioned under the Law. Each society is charged with the tasks of advancing agricultural loans, furnishing the farmers with all that they require for the exploitation of the land, organizing the cultivation and exploitation of the land in the most efficient manner, selling the principal crops on behalf of the members, and undertaking all other agricultural and social services required by members. When measures of this kind have been successfully implemented, they will play a vital part in the prevention of need amongst the peasant communities concerned.³⁹

234. It was suggested earlier (see paras. 213-217 above) that conventional schemes of social insurance have, in practice, very limited relevance to the circumstances of the independent peasant, but where he is able to insure against the most serious contingency with which he is likely to be faced—the loss of his crop or his animals—he is provided with an effective form of social security. Crop and animal insurance, through co-operative societies or similar organizations, seem likely to play no less important a part than such measures as credit facilities and loans of seed and equipment as a means of preventing need among peasant communities.

³⁹ See also *Rural Progress Through Co-operatives*, United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1954.II.B.2.

HOME INDUSTRIES AND HANDICRAFTS

235. Although redistribution of land and improved methods of cultivation and marketing go a long way towards solving the major problems of under-employment in rural communities, they do not provide a complete solution in all countries. Indeed, in certain circumstances, the adoption of more efficient agricultural methods may lead to an increase rather than a decrease in under-employment because of the more economical utilization of manpower. The importance, from both the economic and the social points of view, of finding some means of solving the problem of the under-employed peasant has gained increasing recognition by governments and has led to the adoption of plans for the development of rural industries. Special attention is being given to the extension and improvement of traditional cottage industries and handicrafts. The effective utilization of indigenous products and seasonal fluctuations in the degree of under-employment call for the adaptation of plans to suit the prevailing local conditions. Ideally, during those periods of the year when there is little or no work to be done on the land, the peasant should be able to engage in some occupation which will serve not only to combat the demoralizing effects of idleness but will enable him to improve his economic position. From the point of view of raising the level of living of the individual family and the prevention of need among the less severely handicapped, cottage industries are of special value. They are usually of such a character that not only the women members of the household but also the older children as well as the aged and infirm can participate in them, thus increasing the number of earners in the family.

236. The several advantages accruing from small-scale rural industries (including cottage handicrafts) have been summarized as follows in the report by the Secretary-General on a programme of concerted practical action in the social field of the United Nations and the specialized agencies:⁴⁰

"In the first place, the development of handicrafts can be the means of reducing the incidence of both under-employment and unemployment, and accordingly reduces the social degradation which is inherent in these economic diseases. Secondly, such development coupled with the introduction of modern techniques increases productivity, and thus increases the income of the workers, thereby enabling them to improve their general conditions of life. Thirdly, the development of small-scale industries in the less-developed countries helps to preserve the entity of local groups, prevents the drift of the rural populations to the towns, and, in general, creates a spirit of local enterprise. Finally, the development of small-scale industries on a co-operative basis can make the process of transition from a domestic to a modern industrial economy more gradual and with less liability to cause hardship and social unrest."

⁴⁰ *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Sixteenth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 10, document E/CN.5/291/Rev.1, para. 466.

237. It is, however, important to emphasize that, because of the special difficulties which are inherent in selling articles produced in the home, the development of small-scale rural industries cannot produce successful results unless the essential problem of marketing is solved. These difficulties flow from such factors as the irregular rate of output, the lack of uniform quality standards, the scattered geographical distribution of the producers, the seasonal nature of the demand and the possibility that a successful low-priced product may be copied and manufactured mechanically on a commercial scale. All these factors indicate the dangers of an uncontrolled development of home industry, without simultaneous attention to the possibilities of marketing.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

238. Community development has been defined⁴¹ as a process designed to promote conditions of economic and social progress for local communities with their active participation and the fullest possible reliance upon the communities' initiative. This conception involves the utilization of existing and potential local resources, the balanced development of the community in all aspects of its life and the co-ordination of external development agencies in their approach to the people in local communities. A number of projects undertaken by a local community, such as the building of roads and irrigation canals, and the improvement of agricultural techniques and of public health, make effective use of surplus manpower in the long-term social and economic interests of all. Not only do the benefits from such improvements put the local community in a better position to fulfil its obligations towards its young, aged or incapacitated members, but they also strengthen and develop the community spirit and increase the feeling of responsibility for the general welfare of the whole community. The community development process leads to the creation of community councils, rural development societies, community welfare centres and similar agencies or facilities which may conveniently be used in schemes of assistance to the needy under an arrangement by which appropriations from the treasury of the central or provincial government are supplemented by local contributions. At the same time, local knowledge and the use of volunteer services in the administration of such schemes serve to ensure that the available financial resources are utilized to the maximum advantage and that administrative costs are kept to a minimum.

HOUSING AND PLANNING

239. There is, clearly, a close relationship between housing conditions and the health and well-being of the population. Bad housing and overcrowding are reflected in a high rate of disease and

⁴¹ *Principles of Community Development*, E/CN.5/303.

in the appearance of other social problems which, in turn, are closely related to the incidence of need. The cost of construction of adequate housing, however, is invariably so high that proportionate rents based solely upon economic criteria would be out of reach of a great majority of the population. Systems of government subsidy for housing construction and slum clearance have therefore been found necessary in order to make good housing available at rents based upon both social and economic criteria. In addition, construction programmes which are integrated into over-all economic planning can play an important part in the maintenance of a stable level of employment and the increase of productivity in general. Housing construction thus affords a primary opportunity for the integration of economic and social action to prevent need.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

240. The prevention of need by measures in the field of labour legislation is not restricted to social insurance. Improvement of the working conditions of employees, whether in industry—such as in the mines of the Latin American countries or in the multitude of light industries in Japan—or in agriculture—such as in the tea and rubber estates in Ceylon and the *haciendas* and plantations of Latin America—are as important as measures of agrarian reform, although, in general, they affect a smaller proportion of the population. For instance, a series of labour laws introduced in Bolivia since 1942 have done much to improve the working conditions of the large mining community in that country. Primarily, of course, the worker should be adequately remunerated to enable him to maintain himself and those who look to him for support, whether their claim to this support has a legal or a traditional foundation. The development of properly organized and responsible trade unions and the establishment of negotiating machinery for the fixing of minimum wages is an important factor in this connexion. Labour legislation can also play a big part in ensuring the health and welfare of workers by covering such matters as hours of employment and the physical conditions of work, including, in particular, the working conditions of women and young people. Occupations, such as some forms of mining, which, by their nature, expose the worker to accident or disease, call for special protective measures to prevent need arising from physical incapacity. Reduction to a minimum of the risks of accident or disease is certainly no less important than its provision of compensation for the victim or his dependants; it is an example of a means to prevent need. Labour legislation which is fundamentally sound in conception not only protects the interests of the workers but, in the long run, leads to increased production, and the ability of a country to provide assistance for those whose needs cannot otherwise be met must, in the last resort, be dependent upon national productivity.

Chapter X

THE POSSIBILITIES OF GOVERNMENT ACTION

THE CONSEQUENCES OF CHANGES IN SOCIAL PATTERNS

241. The economic and social structure, as well as the way of life of the people of many of the less-developed countries do not call for the introduction of formal nation-wide schemes of public assistance comparable to those which exist in the more industrialized countries. An extreme example of a community for which such a system would be quite inappropriate is that of the Bedouin in the deserts of the Middle East. In the light of the tribal structure and nomadic way of life of that community, many of the aspects of an integrated scheme of public assistance, for example, income maintenance allowances, could not be put into operation. On the other hand, provision to meet medical needs would be desirable, as would be measures to ensure that the necessities of life should be made available at times of calamity, such as a severe drought, which may well lead to serious hardship if not to actual starvation. (It is outside the scope of this study to examine the question whether or not an attempt should be made to stabilize nomadic peoples.) Similar considerations apply to the isolated tribes and communities in the mountains and forests of Latin America and the jungles of Burma.

242. It is, nevertheless, important that the governments of less-developed countries recognize that the social pattern is changing in some cases with relative rapidity among those people who, unlike the Bedouin, have been affected by mid-twentieth century developments such as increased educational facilities, improved means of transport and a higher degree of industrialization with its consequent shift from a rural to an urban way of life. The cumulative effect of these developments is the breaking down in varying degrees of the centuries-old tribal and communal structures with their inherent conceptions of mutual aid.

243. The problem to be faced by governments in countries in which these changes are taking place is what is to be done about those persons who are unable to provide for themselves and have no one to whom they can look for support. It is sometimes argued that "charity" is the province of religious and other voluntary organizations and not a function of government but it is clear from what has been said in earlier chapters of this report that, whatever may have been the position in the past, the resources of non-governmental

organizations are not sufficient to provide, even at the lowest level of subsistence, for all those who are in need. Indeed, the suggestion that the granting of any form of assistance is "charity" (in the derogatory sense which the word has acquired) implies an erroneous approach to the problem of need. A very different approach was enunciated by the General Assembly of the United Nations in Article 25 (1)⁴² of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted under resolution 217 A (III). It should be the ultimate aim of every government to ensure that the right to security be recognized as such, and to take such measures as are practicable to see that those whose needs cannot be met by other means can look to the State, either through the central or local government, for fulfilment of their right.

244. The principle that the State should accept responsibility for the assistance of those in need as a matter of social justice was emphasized in the discussion of the Third United Nations Social Welfare Seminar for Arab States in the Middle East held at Damascus in December 1952. Thus, the report of the Committee on organization and administration reads, in part, as follows:⁴³

"It is assumed that it is the obligation of the State to aid the needy and that as members of the community they are entitled to assistance as long as they continue to be in need."

The report on a symposium on the philosophy, objectives, principles and fields of social assistance stated⁴⁴ that:

"The assistance of the needy categories should be a right of the people. It should not be left to individual charity which is neither continuous nor permanent. It is after all a kind of giving and begging. To make assistance the responsibility of the government is turning back to the Islamic origin which imposes assistance as a right to the people not as a charity or a giving."

SOCIAL CONSCIENCE AND THE PROBLEM OF NEED

245. Recognition and acceptance of the principle of assistance to the needy should not be confined to governments alone. It is equally necessary that the people in general should similarly be conscious of the problem and the responsibility which it entails for the community at large. This theme was also referred to at the

⁴² The text of this article reads as follows "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and wellbeing of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control".

⁴³ *Third United Nations Social Welfare Seminar for Arab States in the Middle East*, Damascus, 8-20 December 1952, United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1954.IV.9, p. 42.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

Damascus Seminar in the report of the committee concerned with organization and administration of social assistance in the following terms:⁴⁵

“Any system of social assistance to succeed must have a strong foundation in public understanding. It is important that both the political and civic leadership of the nation should believe in the need for public assistance. The taxpayers should be convinced of the necessity for the programme. There should be general support for the principle that assistance is a right of the person in need.”

246. It is no easy task to educate public opinion in any country to accept the administration of assistance as a function of government. Those who have never experienced the hardship of want themselves sometimes fail to fully understand the variety of circumstances which give rise to need among their less fortunate fellow-countrymen and may be apt to assume too readily that their condition is due to their own fault and is one to which they should find their own solution. In spite of the charitable precepts of all the great religions of the world and the human instinct to help those in distress, there is a reluctance to accept the idea that the provision of assistance is a matter for organization on a national or local government basis in the same way as education or public health. Whilst it is universally recognized that in times of a national calamity, such as extensive flooding or drought, it is right for the government to provide assistance for the victims of the calamity, the same view is not always taken in relation to individuals who, equally through no fault of their own, are placed in a similar plight in other circumstances. The man who becomes blind or a chronic invalid as the result of natural causes affecting him as an individual has the same need of help as one who is permanently disabled as the result of war; the needs of a widow are no less if her husband died from tuberculosis than if he were killed as the result of a mining disaster.

247. This problem of arousing social conscience is particularly difficult in a country where extreme poverty has come to be accepted as inevitable and where it is regarded as proper for people to beg if they have no other way of supplying their needs. The practice of begging is not compatible with the dignity of man, moreover, it leads to the trading by the unscrupulous on the charitable instincts of their fellow-countrymen. It is by no means suggested that there should be no outlet for those instincts, whether or not they are based on religious precepts, but it is suggested that they should be directed into channels where they can do the greatest good. To give alms to the blind beggar may result in his having enough to eat, but to subscribe to a properly organized home for the blind is more likely to ensure that the gift is put to the most effective use and for the greatest good of the greatest number. It would thus appear to be desirable that

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

governments should not only accept the principles of social justice, but that they should endeavour to educate their peoples to do the same. A logical sequence to this would be the ultimate disappearance of the practice of begging. Difficult and lengthy of accomplishment as it well may be, no country, whether highly developed or less-developed, can claim to have a satisfactory scheme of assistance for the needy until it can be said that there is no necessity for any man, woman or child to beg.

THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF MUTUAL AID AND SELF-HELP

248. It was noted earlier that conventional assistance schemes have no relevance to the conditions still obtaining in some parts of the less-developed territories. Whatever may be the extent to which changing conditions are resulting in a decline of the practice of mutual aid, no advantage is to be gained by accelerating the process by the premature introduction of "official" schemes on the pattern of those existing in highly industrialized countries. On the contrary, there is everything to be said for fostering the tradition of mutual aid and harnessing it to such practical projects as community development programmes (see para. 238 above). An example of the possibilities of adapting the conception of mutual aid to local conditions is the Payagi Project recently put into operation in Burma (see para. 206 above).

249. A further example of positive action to encourage the idea of mutual aid and self-help is to be found in the action of a number of governments of less-developed countries to assist people to improve their housing conditions. The aim of "aided self-help housing" has been described⁴⁶ as getting the householder to

"help so far as possible to build and maintain his own house by providing part of the cost of land, materials and, possibly, skilled help, from savings and by doing some of the actual construction work, possibly in co-operation with others."

The actual assistance provided by the government to stimulate people to build their own houses on a co-operative basis may take the form of giving advice on design and building methods, the provision of financial help, the development of roads, water and sanitation services, the loan of building plant and equipment or the gift or loan of building materials. These forms of assistance are obviously more appropriate to the village or rural community than to the urban community, which does not have the same cohesive spirit. They are indeed no more than a development of the long established tradition existing in Ecuador, where Indian families work together in *mingas* on housebuilding and similar projects (see para. 50 above).

⁴⁶ *Housing in the Tropics*, United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1952.IV.2.

250. It seems probable that the solution to the problem of social security for the peasant and his dependants lies in such directions as those mentioned above rather than in the more prevalent forms of social insurance and public assistance. The peasant family which can have made available to it the facilities for loans, supply of seed and tools and the marketing of crops such as are to be provided by the village co-operative societies under the Agrarian Reform Law of Egypt (see para. 233 above), is virtually assured of the means of subsistence so long as some of its members are able to cultivate the farm or small-holding. The "risks" of old age and unemployment do not have the same meaning for the peasant as they do for the industrial worker. The peasant's greatest risk is the loss of his crop and if, in those circumstances, he is able to obtain a loan or other form of "insurance" payment in cash or kind to enable him to carry on until the next harvest and if he can also be assured of medical treatment for himself and his family should the occasion arise, he will attain a degree of social security virtually equivalent to that of the insured industrial worker.

251. The importance of developing the principle and practice of self-help as an effective and realistic means of tackling the problem of mass poverty is summarized in the following extract from the *International Survey of Programmes of Social Development*:⁴⁷

"Furthermore, the very fact of mass poverty in the economically under-developed rural areas necessitates an emphasis on self-help programmes aimed at developing the community as a whole and eliminating the causes of poverty and low levels of living, rather than on costly governmental relief and curative services to mitigate the specific consequences. The Governments of economically under-developed countries cannot afford to provide adequate low-cost housing for their low-income rural inhabitants (who represent the great majority of their total population); adequate food to supplement the diets of the vast numbers of malnourished; adequate medical services to cure the widespread diseases; adequate social welfare services to give individual care to the rural destitute and handicapped; adequate relief funds to support the rural unemployed and under-employed, etc. At the same time, vast resources for development exist in the form of under-employed rural labour. The emphasis is, therefore, on providing the rural population with the knowledge, the skills, the organizational means and the motivation whereby they can improve their lot by their own efforts. It is a question of helping them prevent need by dealing with its origins, which are multiple and complex."

252. It is clearly impossible to lay down any hard and fast rule for universal application on the subject of the respective roles of mutual aid and self-help on the one hand and public assistance on the other. In certain circumstances the two systems may well operate side by side. An example of this is the introduction of the non-

⁴⁷ United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1955.IV.8, p. 174.

contributory pension scheme in Egypt which seeks to relieve the local community of the burden of maintaining some of those of its members who are unable to provide for themselves, but which, at the same time, provides an incentive for the continuance of assistance by "non-labile" relatives. It is primarily for each government to decide, in the light of its special knowledge, when and where it is necessary to introduce some form of assistance scheme to supplement mutual aid or, when it has ceased to be effective, to replace it.

THE FINANCING OF SCHEMES OF ASSISTANCE

253. It is self-evident that no schemes of assistance can operate unless the necessary financial provision is made, and the most idealistic legislation on any form of social security is meaningless unless this provision can be assured. It appears to be the position in some countries that this fundamental consideration has not been given sufficient attention at the outset. As a result, legislation to ensure assistance to those in need is in existence while, in practice, such assistance either does not materialize at all or is quite inadequate. Although legislation—preferably of a simple character—may well be essential as a first step to give effect to a government's intention to provide assistance to those in need, the adoption of legislation which remains unimplemented serves no real purpose and may do more harm than good by raising false hopes and bringing the law into disrepute. The growth of the non-statutory public assistance scheme in Ceylon illustrates the point that financial provision (even though, in this instance, it is still insufficient) and practical administrative arrangements are of greater value than the most elaborate legislative measures.

254. The reason most commonly given for the non-existence, or inadequacy in practice, of an assistance scheme is that the country "cannot afford" the financial burden entailed, and this argument must apply with special force to many of the less-developed countries. Public assistance schemes must rely on public funds, that is, on the revenue from direct and indirect taxes. In the circumstances of many less-developed countries, where revenue is insufficient to cover such services as education and public health, it is unrealistic to maintain that public assistance should have a high priority. The approach to this question of priorities must necessarily be that those services which contribute most to the long-term social and economic development of the country must have first claim. Indeed, only by improving the national income through increased productivity can the establishment of an adequate assistance scheme eventually be achieved; hence the importance of plans of economic development, not only as a means of preventing need, but also as a means of meeting it when it cannot be prevented. It does not, however, follow from this that no provision at all for the needy should be made until a country has attained prosperity.

255. It was pointed out in chapter I that one of the characteristics of the less-developed countries in general is the concentration of wealth in the hands of a small minority. In such instances, where the country as a whole finds it difficult to maintain a system of public assistance while considerable wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few citizens, a more efficient tax system to provide the means for a programme of social and economic development becomes a matter not only of economic expediency but also one of social justice. A number of countries (including Bolivia and Iran) have adopted the method of imposing special taxes on "luxuries" the proceeds of which are devoted exclusively to the provisions of assistance to the needy. Whilst this method has superficial attractions as a means of redistributing income between rich and poor, it does not accord with the accepted principles of budgetary policy. These principles require that the pattern of governmental expenditure be a comprehensive one and that the expenditure allocated to any particular object should be based on an evaluation of the relative claims of all the items for which provision has to be made. The linking of particular sources of revenue with particular expenditure conflict with this basic conception. Moreover, experience has shown that once the practice of earmarking revenue for special purposes has been adopted in a less-developed country, it tends to grow and may reach the point of creating so much rigidity in the revenue system of the country that the formation of a sound and flexible fiscal system is made extremely difficult. There is the further disadvantage of the practice of earmarking specific revenue that it may result in a whole series of small taxes, the yield from each of which is out of proportion to the cost of collection.⁴⁸

256. Another method, which has been adopted in Bolivia, Iran and Libya, as well as in a number of other countries, has some features in common with the system of the luxury tax, but with the fundamental difference that the compulsory element is not present. This is the State lottery, the profits of which are devoted to providing assistance for the needy. Whatever arguments there may be in favour of raising funds by this means, it raises the question whether it accords with the assumption of the responsibility of the State for ensuring social justice.

257. The foregoing paragraphs have referred to the raising of funds by the central government, since it is generally held that the financial policy on which a country's provision of assistance for the needy is based should be determined by the central government and should not be left to provincial governments, local authorities or municipalities. It does not, however, necessarily follow that the central government itself should, in each case, provide the whole—or indeed any—of the funds required. A great deal must depend

⁴⁸ See also *Taxes and Fiscal Policy in Under-developed Countries*, United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1955.II.H.1, p. 42.

on the country's fiscal system and the relation between the general and local tax revenue, as well as on the central and local administrative structure of the country. It is reasonable to expect, for instance, that any system of assistance administered by an autonomous local authority would be financed wholly or mainly by that authority.

258. It is interesting to note that in each of the countries dealt with in this report which have formal schemes of continuing allowances, differing financial relations between the central and local administration are involved. In the case of Ceylon, two quite distinct financial arrangements exist side by side. The three poor law schemes are financed entirely by the municipalities concerned, though this is done on the basis of national legislation; the public assistance scheme operating throughout the rest of the country, on the other hand, is financed from the general revenue of the central government. In Egypt, both the non-contributory pension and social assistance schemes are wholly dependent upon funds provided by the central government from the national revenue. In Japan, the financial burden is shared between the central government, the prefectures and the municipalities on the basis of 80 per cent of the cost being provided from national funds. Finally, the poor card scheme in the Libyan capital of Tripoli, whilst operated by the municipality for the benefit of residents in the city, is financed entirely by the provincial government of Tripolitania. The experience of the operation of the Poor Law Ordinance in Ceylon suggests that, where the financial responsibility is left entirely to a local authority there is a distinct risk that, in the absence of any measure of control by the central government, there will be a very considerable disparity in the provision made by different authorities. The results of the administration of the Daily Life Security Law in Japan tend to imply that this is also true where even a relatively small part of the cost is borne by local funds. Any system of administration which results in people with similar needs receiving widely varying amounts of assistance according to the particular town or locality in which they live is, in itself, undesirable, unless, of course, these variations are based on local differences in the cost of living (as, for instance, between the urban and rural districts of Egypt). Territorial variations of this kind inevitably give rise to the question of the imposition of residence qualifications, such as apply in the three poor law municipalities in Ceylon, with all the complications which the imposition of such qualifications entails.

259. The experience of Japan and Ceylon leads to the conclusion that the question of the apportionment of the financial burden of public assistance as between national and local funds is one which calls for special attention, not only on the inception of any scheme, but also after experience has been gained in its operation. In some countries, because of the concentration of wealth in the capital city (and, possibly, in other large towns), it may well be reasonable that the municipality concerned should bear the full cost of providing

assistance for its needy citizens, but that the charge should be a national one as regards the rest of the country.

260. The vital importance of ensuring the necessary financial provision before establishing any scheme of assistance has already been emphasized. It is no less important to ensure that there be adequate financial provision when considering the extension of an existing scheme; indeed, the rate of expansion of any scheme is likely to be governed by the availability of financial resources. Given the situation that, for the time being, only a strictly limited amount of public money can be made available for assistance purposes, it is for the government concerned to decide how those resources can best be utilized in the long-term interests of the country as a whole. In so deciding, the government will have to consider the varying situations in urban and rural districts, not only as regards the distribution of different categories of needy persons (for example, a high incidence of blindness in certain localities), but also the provision already made for them through mutual aid and non-governmental organizations. If the funds which are immediately available are so restricted that it is out of the question to consider the introduction of even a modified system of continuing allowances, resort to such measures as communal feeding or some form of food distribution, with special regard for the nutritional needs of mothers and young children, in the more important centres of population, may well prove to be the most satisfactory alternative.

261. Where it is proposed to introduce or to extend schemes of continuing allowances, in addition to considerations of territorial scope in terms of area and categories of persons to be covered, the important and related question of the level of subsistence to be adopted will also call for careful examination. In the circumstances of a particular country, the only satisfactory way of reaching a decision in these questions may be to carry out a sample survey such as was undertaken in Egypt as a preliminary to the introduction of the Social Security Law in that country (see para. 205 above). It is essential that the decision should be related to the realities of the situation. An idealistic scheme without adequate financial backing and which does not take into account the level of subsistence achieved by the "active" population would run counter to rather than serve the country's best interests. It is preferable to introduce, in the first instance, a modest scheme and to develop it step by step in the light of experience and the funds available, rather than to launch an over-ambitious scheme without the requisite financial provision or administrative machinery. This may well mean that it is quite impracticable to provide anything approaching a reasonable level of subsistence for all needy persons within the territory covered; it may therefore be necessary to restrict the number of potential applicants, at any rate at the outset, by limiting its scope to certain categories, such as sick persons with dependants or widows with young children.

SUGGESTED PRINCIPLES AND PROCEDURES TO BE
APPLIED IN DEVELOPING SCHEMES OF ASSISTANCE

262. The foregoing paragraphs have emphasised the importance of proper financial provision as a prerequisite to any scheme of assistance. The suggested principles and procedures set forth below can only have application where such provision is made and, even then, some will undoubtedly have to be adapted to meet particular local or national circumstances.

(1) The preservation of the family as the basis of the social structure is essential; the "family" for this purpose being given the recognized connotation in the territory or district. Where assistance is given, it should be on the basis of the needs and resources of all the members of the family so long as they are living together as one unit. In particular, the responsibility of a husband and father to maintain his wife and children (whether legitimate or illegitimate) should be regarded as fundamental and where need arises because of his neglect to discharge this responsibility the assistance authority should help the dependants to take whatever legal or other steps that may be possible to make him comply with his obligations.

(2) Where the need is of a permanent character, such as that arising from the death or disablement of the family breadwinner, it is desirable that the assistance take the form of continuing cash allowances, thus preserving a sense of responsibility and a measure of independence in the recipient. Assistance in the form of institutional accommodation should be limited to the homeless and those who, due to their mental, moral or physical condition, are in need of care (including rehabilitation) and protection which cannot be obtained under normal home conditions. Continuing home assistance in kind (i.e., mainly food) may be desirable, depending upon local or individual circumstances. This form of assistance is particularly desirable if there is any risk that children will not receive their proper share of the assistance or where there are known habits of drug-taking or alcoholism, or improvidence; the provision of school meals has special advantages in these circumstances in addition to the very important general advantage inherent in this form of assistance. Assistance in kind will also be appropriate in places where, and at times when, cash transactions are not practicable or where, because of facilities for bulk purchase of food, a greater number of persons can be assisted for the same expenditure. In certain circumstances, as in the conditions immediately following a catastrophe, communal feeding may be the most practicable as well as the most economical form of assistance as a temporary expedient.

(3) Where assistance in the form of institutional accommodation is provided, it should take account of the special needs of the individual. It is undesirable that young children, the aged and the mentally and physically afflicted be accommodated in the same general institution unless there are adequate facilities for segregation.

(4) Assistance should not be withdrawn after an arbitrary period but should be continued so long as the circumstances which gave rise to the original award remain unchanged.

(5) Discrimination in principle or practice on account of race, religion or political beliefs should be avoided. It may, however, be reasonable in certain circumstances to impose a residence qualification within a country or district before the grant of continuing assistance.

(6) The amount of any continuing assistance should be at least adequate to ensure the minimum essential requirements for the maintenance of health, allowing for the prevailing climatic conditions, and should take into account the number and ages (i.e., as between young children and adults) of dependants and, where rent for housing accommodation is involved, the actual amount of this item, unless it is unreasonable in relation to the needs of the family and the general level of rents in the locality. The scales of assistance should be varied, in point both of time and place, to take into account variations in the purchasing power of the local currency. It should, however, be the exception for a recipient of assistance to be placed in a more favourable economic position than a fully employed person, whether working for an employer or self-employed, and where a large number of dependants are involved some adjustment in the allowance otherwise payable may be necessary to take account of this factor.

(7) Although, for reasons of incentive, it may be desirable, in fixing the amount of any continuing assistance, to disregard, wholly or in part, certain sources of income in cash or kind, such as earnings from a part-time occupation or voluntary payments from "non-lie" relatives and friends, the extent to which this is done should be severely restricted so long as available funds are insufficient to provide assistance for numbers of people who have no other income at all.

(8) Continuing supplementation by assistance on a needs basis of earnings from full-time employment (as distinct from a system of children's or family allowances based on the number of dependants and irrespective of actual need) is undesirable as being likely to lead to abuse in the absence of a rigid control of wage rates.

(9) Unconditional and continuing assistance to able-bodied men and women who are in need because of unemployment is, in general, to be avoided, particularly if there is no proper system of employment exchanges with facilities for registering for work. It is preferable that, in the case of such persons, help take the form of the provision of some form of paid employment on specially arranged schemes of public works, or of the supply of tools or other equipment necessary to obtain normal employment.

(10) Wherever appropriate and practicable, the grant of continuing assistance should be accompanied by constructive measures of rehabilitation. In the case of a sick person, for instance, steps should be taken to ensure that he receive the necessary medical treatment. Similarly, the possibility should be explored of a partially disabled person being made fit for work, for instance, by the supply of an artificial limb, or a blind person undergoing a course of training to enable him to undertake some form of suitable employment.

(11) An applicant should have the right of appeal against rejection of an application for assistance or if he is dissatisfied with the amount of assistance awarded.

(12) It is undesirable that there be any marked disparity in the amount of assistance granted to comparable families in different parts of the same country except in so far as there are variations in the cost of living—for example, as between rural and urban districts.

(13) The system of administration should be simple and economical and should command the confidence of the people for whom it is provided by being just and completely free from any personal, political or racial bias. Whether

administrative control is central or local, the interest of local persons of standing should be enlisted and opportunities afforded for them to give their personal service in some capacity on a voluntary basis.

(14) There should be the closest possible association between the assistance scheme and all other governmental or local authority welfare services.

(15) To prevent overlapping and duplication, every endeavour should be made to ensure the maximum co-ordination with non-governmental agencies concerned, directly or indirectly, with assistance to the needy.

The last three points are dealt with in greater detail in the paragraphs which follow.

ADMINISTRATION AND STAFF

263. Any scheme of assistance based on actual need necessitates certain basic administrative machinery to deal with the taking of applications, the investigation of the circumstances of the applicant and his family, the assessment of the allowance (based on the ascertained circumstances and the rules or regulations governing the rates of assistance), if any, to be paid to him and the arrangements for making periodic payments. Where the scheme is limited to a single town, such as, for instance, Colombo or Tripoli, the setting up of administrative machinery presents no special difficulty or unusual expense. A small clerical and investigating staff housed in the municipal buildings or other premises near the centre of the city should be able to carry out all the duties involved and there is no inconvenience to applicants (or their appointed agents) in attending the office to receive payment. Whether the decision on each case is made by a committee or this duty is delegated to a responsible official, it should be practicable to take action without any serious delay. In the case of a very large city such as, for instance, Tokyo, a number of offices and committees may be necessary to serve the different parts, but, again, the compact nature of an urban district makes for economy and speed of administration.

264. Very different considerations arise when the scheme extends throughout a whole country as is the case with the public assistance scheme in Ceylon, the machinery operating under the Daily Life Security Law in Japan and the social security system in Egypt. The establishment and maintenance of a nation-wide network of special offices, each with its own separate staff, may well result in very heavy administrative expenses which make serious inroads into the limited financial resources available. It is desirable that such a situation be avoided in the interests of the country as a whole and, in particular, of those for whose benefit the scheme is intended. The course which has been followed in Ceylon serves to achieve this object by taking advantage of the system of village headmen and government agents, reinforced and advised, where necessary, by a comparatively small number of trained officers who are available to

travel to different parts of the country as required. This solution, in addition to restricting staff expenses, avoids the maintenance of a system of separate offices. It also ensures that full advantage is taken of the knowledge of local officials, a knowledge which can be supplemented by a committee of persons of standing in the locality. An alternative to the system operating in Ceylon to meet the difficulties of catering for those rural areas where an assistance scheme is appropriate is to be found in the conception of the "welfare district" in Japan or the "social unit" in Egypt. Such a district or unit could undertake the local administration for a defined area of a number of aspects of governmental social and economic policy, including assistance for the needy, child welfare, public health and, possibly, agricultural matters, such as the loan of seed and equipment, and insurance against loss of crops or cattle. The advantages of integrating local services in this way are, of course, not limited to economy of administration.

265. In addition to being economical, it is desirable that the system of administration be simple in the sense that the applicant should not be expected to understand and comply with elaborate instructions, or be subjected to a detailed cross-examination on matters which are not strictly relevant. He should be able to receive assistance at regular intervals without serious inconvenience. This last condition may present some difficulty in regions where there is no public office equipped to disburse money within reasonable access of the recipient (who, in any event, is unlikely to be able to travel any distance), and there may be no alternative to an itinerant official calling at the recipient's home each "pay day". It is recognized that in the conditions of an under-developed country with a high degree of illiteracy, lack of complete records on such matters as dates of birth, and limited transport and communication facilities, there are many difficulties in devising a nation-wide organization which is simple, efficient and speedy and at the same time economical. On the question of speed action, for instance, if each case has to be referred to a central point for a decision, it is inevitable that a considerable time must elapse between the making of an application and the receipt of the first payment of an allowance. This suggests that, in certain conditions, authority to make a provisional decision should be delegated either to a local committee or to a local official, subject to later confirmation by the appropriate higher authority.

266. Conventional schemes of public assistance usually provide for detailed inquiries, in one form or another, to be made into the resources available to the individual applicant, in order to ascertain the extent of the unmet need of the family. Such inquiries may have little relevance and therefore be quite superfluous in the conditions of a particular locality of a less developed territory if it can be assumed, for instance, that if there is no able-bodied breadwinner in the household then there will be no income or other resources

available for maintenance. In conditions such as these, the inquiries can be simplified by limiting them to the composition of the family unit.

267. The responsible official of a public assistance organization needs to have special qualities. As an official and representative of the government or local authority by which he is employed, his integrity should be unquestioned, and he should be able to command the respect of all with whom he comes into contact for his fairness and impartiality. These qualities are, of course, desirable in every official, but they are particularly necessary where he is in a position to influence a decision either to grant or to withhold assistance. Ideally, every responsible public assistance official should have had some training in the broad field of social welfare, but this is an ideal which it has not been possible to achieve in the conditions of many highly developed countries, let alone in those of the much more difficult conditions of less-developed countries. In the latter, the number of available trained social workers is likely to be very small indeed and the problem is one of using their knowledge and skill to the maximum advantage. One possible solution is to station such social workers as are available at strategic centres from which they can cover a wide area, acting in an advisory or even supervisory capacity not only to the local assistance administration but also to non-governmental institutions. Provided that, in addition to their training, these workers have adequate contacts and influence with all the social welfare organizations and institutions in the territory which they cover, their services can be of great value in securing that an individual or family, some or all of whose special needs can most appropriately be dealt with by a particular organization, is referred to that organization. At the same time, social workers can play an effective part in the in-service training of the employees of the public assistance administration.

268. No less important than the question of training is the need for the acceptance by the public assistance official of the idea that he is engaged in a task of social welfare and not in the distribution of "charity". Unless the principles on which assistance schemes are based are properly understood and accepted by all those engaged in administering them, there is a danger that the individual official may adopt a "superior" attitude towards people who apply for assistance and be bureaucratic in his approach, whereas their circumstances will almost invariably call for sympathetic understanding. The official must also be prepared to exercise great patience in obtaining the information which is required. Many of the people with whom he deals, even if they are not illiterate, may fail to understand, and even be suspicious of, an official procedure which is designed for their benefit but to which they are unaccustomed. They may well have difficulty in fully comprehending the questions which are put to them or in appreciating the duties which the official is required to

fulfil and, unless he carries out those duties with the utmost tact, patience and sympathy, his actions are likely to be misunderstood and resented.

269. The need for the special qualities referred to in the preceding paragraphs means, of course, that there are certain disadvantages in the adoption of what, on the face of it, is an economical system of utilizing the services of existing local representatives of the government as agents for the public assistance administration, as in the case of Ceylon. These representatives will have been selected originally to deal with very different tasks, and not all of them will possess the most suitable personal qualifications for dealing with people in distress. Moreover, because of their other duties, they may have some difficulty in grasping the basic conception of assistance to the needy and, for the same reason, it will be difficult to train them in social work. It is most desirable, therefore, that, where the system of using the services of village headmen or other local representatives is adopted, experienced officials of the administration or advisory social workers make periodic visits to various parts of the territory to ensure that applications for assistance are being handled satisfactorily.

270. When a system of public assistance, such as exists in Ceylon, is appropriate to the conditions of the rural community of a less-developed country, there may be more than one way of ensuring that local knowledge and understanding of the customs of the people are utilized in the administration. The terms "auxiliary workers" and "community workers" have been adopted to describe workers, either paid or voluntary, who, although having no special training, can nevertheless make a valuable contribution to schemes of social welfare, including the administration of assistance. One example is that of a teacher who can undertake inquiries and explanations on behalf of the administration on a part-time basis; another is that of the recognized "village worker" who is accepted as a leader in all matters which concern the village by reason of his social, religious or educational status. The special value of such workers is their ability to explain, and to inspire confidence in, the assistance service to those entitled to benefit from it.

271. In view of the emphasis which has already been placed on the need for an economical administration, the question of the remuneration of the full-time officials is of some importance. Clearly, an efficient and reliable staff cannot be built up if the rates of pay are inadequate in comparison with those in other branches of governmental administration. The employment of an ill-paid staff, who may be subject to unusual temptation, may well prove to be a false economy. Whilst, therefore, it would be indefensible to pay extravagant salaries to employees concerned with the alleviation of

⁴⁹ *Training of Welfare Personnel*, E/CN.5/306.

extreme poverty, the rates of pay should be such as to attract men and, in those countries where they can be employed, women with a good educational background. True economy is most likely to be achieved by careful planning and organization so that a minimum staff is used to the best advantage.

272. In the nature of things, women and children usually predominate in the most needy section of any population and, for this reason, there are obvious advantages in employing a proportion of women in the assistance administration. This may be difficult to achieve in those countries where, because of traditional or religious customs, the employment of women is normally restricted to certain occupations such as domestic service. There is reason to believe, however, that the traditional objections to the employment of women outside of these occupations would not be so strong with regard to entirely new occupations created, for example, by the introduction of a social welfare programme.

273. It is essential that a public assistance system, whether covering an urban or rural district, should not be allowed to develop into a bureaucratic machine and it is most desirable that full advantage be taken of the voluntary services of local persons of good repute and standing who are willing to help their less fortunate fellow-countrymen. The way in which their services can best be utilized will depend upon the type of administration, but whatever form is adopted, there will usually be a place for local committees (either nominated or elected), to act in an advisory capacity and possibly to decide upon or recommend the action to be taken in individual cases. The principle of citizen participation in the operation of a social security system has been recognized in Egypt, Ceylon and Japan.

CO-OPERATION WITH OTHER GOVERNMENT SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES

274. In those countries where social welfare and social security systems (including social insurance) are highly developed, the administration of assistance is regarded as a "residual service", available to fill in the gaps left by the other services. The larger the gaps, the more important the role of the assistance service. For instance, where social insurance has not yet been adopted or is of limited scope, the role of the assistance service is of greater practical significance than where the great majority of working people and their dependants are covered by insurance. Whatever the position, it is desirable that the assistance service should not be regarded as entirely separate from, and unrelated to, the other welfare services—whether those services are administered by the central government or by local authorities. This applies equally to the policy relations between ministerial departments as to the day-to-day work in dealing with individual families. Unfortunately, the complex nature of the government structure of some of the less-developed countries and

the distribution of social welfare responsibilities over a number of departments, possibly with overlapping functions (as, for instance, in the case of the Ministry of *Wakfs* and the Ministry of Social Affairs in Egypt) do not facilitate co-ordination. The setting up of separate co-ordinating bodies is, in practice, not always an ideal solution. The position may be further complicated by the relationship between central, provincial and regional governments and between those governments and municipalities or other local authorities. There is no single solution appropriate to all countries, but the aim should obviously be the integration of all branches of social welfare in a broad administrative pattern.

275. At the level of local administration, an assistance service can and should play an effective part in the proper utilization of whatever other welfare services exist. Visiting needy (and frequently ill-informed) people in their own homes in order to ascertain their economic circumstances necessarily brings to light such factors as the need for hospital treatment or other medical attention, truancy from school or other forms of juvenile delinquency, child neglect, insanitary housing and other unsatisfactory conditions calling for remedial measures. It is appropriate that these conditions should be brought to the notice of the welfare service concerned—the system of welfare districts (as in Japan) or social units (as in Egypt) helps to facilitate this—and the continued receipt of assistance might be made conditional upon the co-operation of the head of the family in any possible action to improve matters. By this means, the assistance service can play an effective part in helping to remove the worst features in the homes of the people with whom it is concerned.

CO-ORDINATION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES

276. A number of the country monographs note that the working relations between government and non-governmental agencies are not entirely satisfactory. In those countries where a large part of the income of non-governmental agencies is provided by government subsidies, there frequently seems to be little or no attempt to prevent duplication and overlapping, with the result that the limited funds available are not utilized to the best advantage.

277. When account is taken of the historical background, it is hardly surprising that the relations between government and non-governmental agencies have not everywhere been co-ordinated on a rational basis. Many religious and other voluntary organizations the activities of which include the provision of help for those in need had existed for years, and in some instances for centuries, before there was any suggestion that this matter was the concern of government. Such organizations have a deeply-rooted tradition of providing assistance in a certain way and for certain kinds of people, as, for example, the maintenance of orphan children or the distribution

of food and clothing at certain seasons of the year. It is thus understandable that, notwithstanding the increased participation of governments in the field of social welfare, these organizations should wish to continue their activities as they have been accustomed to do. So long as these activities are conducted so as to be in the best interests of the people for whom they are intended, it would clearly be wrong to do anything which would lead to their discontinuance. In every country there should be a place for voluntary and official agencies to exist side by side, but with changing administrative, economic and social conditions, the relations between the two systems call for review in the interests of both and, above all, of the people for whose benefit they exist.

278. It should be a fundamental principle that the material and personal resources of all kinds available to provide help for the needy in any country should be applied to the maximum advantage and that overlapping or duplication should be avoided. This principle must apply with special force where the total of these resources is seriously short of requirements. Some governments which have, as yet, made little direct provision for assistance to the needy have, nevertheless, made substantial subsidies to voluntary organizations to enable them to carry on and even expand their work. In so doing, these governments are, in effect, using the voluntary organizations as their agents. Provided that a voluntary organization is efficient and does not attempt to discriminate in the selection of the people whom it helps, there is much to be said for using it in this way as a means of avoiding the cost of setting up separate administrative machinery, but the responsibility of a government for the welfare of its people cannot be discharged merely by making an unconditional grant from national funds to a body over which it exercises no control and in the activities of which it takes little or no interest. Other governments, while subsidizing a number of voluntary organizations, also engage in similar activities as part of the national administration so that, in a sense, there is "competition" between the two agencies deriving their income from the same source.

279. There are indications of a growing awareness of the need to co-ordinate the activities of government and non-governmental agencies, and a number of countries have made plans to introduce special arrangements to this end. One such arrangement may take the form of setting up a national register of assistance to ensure that no individual receives assistance from two (or more) agencies simultaneously without one being aware of the action being taken by the other. Although such a register may appear to be a guarantee against overlapping, practical experience of its operation in a country without the handicaps of inadequate means of communication and a largely illiterate population suggests that it would be of very doubtful value if applied to the conditions of a less-developed country. The work involved in compiling and keeping up-to-date a

register for an entire country is enormous and out of all proportion to its questionable practicable value. It might, however, be justified in certain circumstances in the case of a small compact area with a static population. It is suggested that those countries which are contemplating the compilation of a register of this kind should, in the first instance at any rate, limit it to such an area.

280. The more practical approach to the problem of reducing the risk of overlapping and duplication to a minimum seems to be on the basis of an agreement between the government and non-governmental agencies as to their respective "spheres of influence", either in terms of categories of needy persons or of territory. As an example, it might be decided by mutual agreement that a non-governmental agency would accept responsibility for the needs of all blind people or all orphans, with or without a government subsidy. Alternatively, it could be arranged that assistance to all needy people, whatever the cause of need, in a certain town or district should be provided by one agency only. It is realized that whatever system or combination of systems is adopted, it cannot be expected that a completely satisfactory arrangement will always be evolved but, provided that there is a desire on the part of all concerned to co-operate in the interests of the community as a whole, it should be practicable to produce a plan which, without being unduly complicated, would serve to ensure a reasonable measure of co-ordination. An example of what can be achieved in this way is afforded by the arrangement between the Government of Ceylon and the Colombo Friend-in-Need Society, under the terms of which the Society undertakes to provide for those needy persons in the capital who do not satisfy the residence qualifications of the municipal poor law scheme.

Chapter XI

THE POSSIBILITIES OF INTERNATIONAL ACTION

PROVISION OF SERVICES

281. In the discussion of preventive measures in chapter IX, reference was made to the conclusion drawn by the United Nations Mission of Technical Assistance to Libya that that country cannot afford "to divert to schemes of public assistance funds made available for economic and social development". With certain exceptions, mentioned below, this conclusion must be recognized as being broadly applicable to all less-developed countries which look to other countries and to international organizations for aid in furthering their economic and social development. No constructive contribution to this development would be made if direct financial and administrative responsibility for granting assistance to the needy were accepted as a normal and continuing task to be undertaken by international effort. How such responsibility is to be discharged is essentially a matter for the government of a country to determine itself. The role of international action is primarily to help the less-developed countries to increase their national income by such means as the provision of expert advice in the formulation of plans of economic development and by the teaching of modern industrial and agricultural techniques, thus enabling financial provision to be made for assistance schemes as an integral part of social development.

282. The foregoing considerations apply to the various technical assistance programmes of the United Nations and the specialized agencies under which a number of types of services are made available to the requesting Governments. The main function of these programmes in relation to the less-developed countries is to raise the levels of living of the people as a whole rather than to provide direct material assistance to a certain section of the population. In other words, the role of the various technical assistance programmes is not to supply resources in terms of food and other essentials of life, but to enable a country to increase its own production by improved technical processes and the eradication of ignorance and disease. It is then for the Governments concerned to see that the most needy people are enabled to participate in the results of this increased production.

283. On several occasions, the policy-making bodies of the United Nations have considered possibilities of promoting economic

and social development in less-developed countries through the establishment of appropriate international institutions entrusted with the provision of capital to countries lacking the necessary financial resources. In this connexion, it has been suggested⁵⁰ that the international financing of economic development should also cover the financing of various programmes of social development, such as programmes relating to education, health and housing.

PROVISION OF MATERIAL HELP

284. There will, inevitably, be occasions when a less-developed country, with its limited resources and precarious economy, can reasonably look for direct international help to meet the material needs of some or all of its people. One such occasion could be the occurrence of a national calamity resulting in distress so wide-spread that it could be quite beyond the capacity of the government to deal with it. The failure of the harvest throughout the whole or the greater part of a country or the influx of thousands of refugees consequent upon political action might give rise to such wide-spread need that nothing short of the actual supply of food, or the financial resources to purchase it, would prevent large numbers from dying of starvation. Provided that the government has itself taken all reasonable action to deal with the situation, it is entitled, on humanitarian grounds, to look to other countries for direct material assistance in catastrophic conditions of this character.

285. Moreover, in recent years, destruction in various countries has created emergency conditions affecting large groups of the population. The countries concerned would have found it impossible to cope with the situation in the absence of international aid in the provision of services and supplies. Thus, the destruction caused by the Second World War led to the establishment, in 1944, of an emergency international relief agency, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), which assisted the war-devastated countries with emergency supplies and helped them, through technical missions and experts, to organize and distribute those supplies and to meet their urgent relief and rehabilitation needs.

286. The emergence, in the countries of the Middle East, of masses of refugees from Palestine led to the creation, in 1949, of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), which was made responsible for carrying out, in collaboration with the Governments concerned, the direct relief and works programmes for Palestine refugees including supplies and technical assistance for health, welfare and education programmes.

⁵⁰ See *Report on a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development*, United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1953.II.B.1; see also *Financing of Housing and Community Improvement Programmes*, E/CN.5/307.

287. Similarly, the United Nations has assumed responsibility for the reconstruction of Korea through the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA), established in 1950, and made responsible for the execution of a relief and rehabilitation programme in Korea covering procurement of relief and services, shipping, distribution and utilization of supplies, as well as assistance to the appropriate Korean authorities in taking the measures necessary for the rehabilitation of the Korean economy.

288. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) affords an important example of an international organization entrusted with the continuing provision of direct material assistance to needy countries. When UNICEF was established at the first session of the General Assembly, its resources were directed largely to relief of the suffering of children in war-devastated countries and priority was given to (a) supplementing essential food and other supplies needed to alleviate malnutrition and disease among children and to safeguard the health of expectant and nursing mothers, and (b) providing essential clothing and shoes, cod liver oil or substitutes, as well as medical supplies.

289. Later, however, the activities of UNICEF were placed on a continuing basis and its aims were modified to cover long-range programmes to reinforce child health and welfare services, particularly in less-developed countries.

290. The technical and material assistance to less-developed countries under the programme of UNICEF in the general field of family and child welfare takes the following forms:

(a) Aid to maternal and child health and welfare services and training of local child-care personnel. Equipment and supplies for rural health centres, clinics, children's and maternity hospitals, and for training schools are supplied by UNICEF;

(b) Aid to control communicable diseases, such as tuberculosis, malaria, yaws, diphtheria and whooping cough, that affect great numbers of children. Insecticides, penicillin, vaccines, transport, sprayers and other essentials are provided by UNICEF, as is equipment for local production of insecticides, antibiotics, and vaccines;

(c) Aid to improve child nutrition. Dried skim milk and fish-liver oil for supplementary child-feeding are provided by UNICEF, which also provides equipment for milk-drying, milk pasteurizing, and other food-processing plants to increase local supplies of safe foods for children;

(d) Emergency relief action in the event of earthquake, flood, drought, and other catastrophes through provision of food, clothing, blankets, and medical supplies.⁵¹

⁵¹ For details of the assistance provided by UNICEF in recent years to various countries, including those dealt with in this report, see *The Compendium*, Vol. IV, 1953-54, and Vol. V, 1954-1956, United Nations publications, Sales Nos.: 1953.I.32 and 1954.I.25.

291. The administration of operations, including technical planning and direction, is in the hands, and remains the responsibility, of the Governments of the countries assisted or of agencies designated by those Governments. Supplies are made available on the basis of "plans of operations" drawn up by the Governments and approved by UNICEF. These plans set forth in detail how the supplies are to be used as part of an over-all child-care programme. International personnel aid governments in the development and execution of the plans of operations and in the observation of the programmes. The plan of operations always requires substantial expenditure from local resources for local personnel, facilities, supplies, services, etc., in addition to the aid given by UNICEF. This practical application of the conception that the people and government of a country should take an active part in improving their own health and living conditions is in keeping with the general principles of international assistance mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.

EXPERT ADVICE IN ORGANIZING ASSISTANCE SCHEMES

292. The planning and development of schemes of social insurance and assistance and of welfare services for families and needy groups in countries with little or no previous experience in this sphere of government administration presents a formidable task. The United Nations Technical Assistance Administration, as well as the International Labour Office and other specialized agencies which are active in these fields, are in a position to help such countries by the provision of experts to examine the position on the spot, in conjunction with representatives of the government concerned, and to assist in the drafting of the necessary legislation and of administrative plans and in the organization of the services required. The utilization of such experts who, in addition to the technical qualifications, have first-hand experience of conditions in comparable countries, can make an invaluable contribution to the successful establishment or extension of insurance and assistance schemes and related services. Without adequate preliminary planning, there is always the danger that any legislation, however well designed, will prove to be impracticable in operation and that a great deal of effort will have been dissipated to no purpose. The desirability of drawing on the advice and guidance of experts in the planning and development of social security schemes has been recognized by the governments of a number of the countries covered in this report. Furthermore, the experts in rehabilitation of the physically handicapped, and in particular the training and employment of the blind, are also able to make an effective contribution to the assistance of a category of needy persons whose circumstances call for action of a constructive nature in addition to the provision of subsistence. Most of the countries under review have made extensive use of the advisory services of the United Nations and the specialized agencies in their endeavour to improve the organization and administration of their

social security or social services programmes. In this connexion reference should be made to the United Nations Mission of Technical Assistance to Bolivia and to the United Nations Social Services Mission to Burma.

SOCIAL WELFARE FELLOWSHIPS

293. Whilst experts can be made available for the preliminary planning and establishment of schemes of social insurance and assistance, the continued administration of such schemes must be carried out by the country itself. Few of the less-developed countries are able to draw on experienced administrators or trained social workers for this purpose and even fewer have facilities for providing the necessary training. United Nations and specialized agencies fellowships in social welfare administration provide an opportunity for the building up of a nucleus of trained persons who can pass on the benefit of their training to others. It is most desirable that, so far as possible, training through these fellowships be carried out in countries where conditions and the way of life are comparable to those obtaining in the country of the recipient of the fellowship. A study, for instance, of the legislative provisions and administrative organization of an assistance scheme in a highly industrialized western country may be of little practical help to a future administrator or social worker in a less-developed and predominantly rural country in the Middle or Far East, even though the basic principles of assistance are the same in all countries.

SOCIAL WELFARE SEMINARS

294. Experience has shown that world progress in the field of social development can be greatly facilitated by providing opportunities for the international exchange of ideas and experience. While this can be done in the form of the publication of reports and studies, a more effective method is to be found in the organization of the meetings of representatives from countries with kindred problems to discuss questions of common interest. The development of schemes of assistance as part of a broad programme of social welfare is certainly an appropriate subject for discussion between administrators and others who are intimately concerned with the planning or operation of such schemes. The fact that the countries represented may be in very different stages of development may well be an advantage rather than a disadvantage, since the less-developed countries will be able to benefit from the experience of others and avoid the mistakes which inevitably occur in ventures into new fields. Regional social welfare or social security seminars under the auspices of the United Nations or the International Labour Office, such as have been held from time to time in the Middle East and in Latin America, afford an opportunity for this first-hand exchange of ideas and experience between representatives of count-

ries with comparable conditions as regards race, language, religion and way of living.

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

295. Legal and semi-legal instruments, such as conventions, recommendations, resolutions and the like, arrived at through international co-operation, play an important role in stimulating national policies aimed at raising the levels of living in less-developed countries. By providing for international standards or principles and by indicating methods of national action, such instruments afford positive guidance to the countries endeavouring to improve, within their financial capacities, the conditions of their people.

296. Several international instruments already adopted by the policy-making bodies of the United Nations and the specialized agencies, and in particular the International Labour Office, refer directly or indirectly to the organization of social security, social assistance and related services. Similarly, various regional, multi-lateral or bilateral agreements deal with the protection of the social security and social assistance rights of aliens and their families.

297. Such international instruments have proved to be most valuable to governments in the framing of policies, legislation and programmes in the field of social welfare.

CONCLUSION

298. It may be asked whether, if improved public health measures can eliminate disease and universal education can eliminate ignorance and illiteracy, the solution to the elimination of mass poverty lies in assistance to the needy. The answer must be in the negative, for social security, whatever form it may take, does not by itself represent a magic solution to the problem of a low level of living in a whole population. On the contrary, only by improving that standard through increased production and a higher national income can effective social security systems be established.

299. Social justice requires that government and people alike should be ready to recognize that among the population of any given country there are a number of persons who, at some point in their lives, are obliged to look for the means of subsistence outside their immediate family circle because of affliction or other adverse conditions beyond their control. It is the responsibility of the government to see that they do not look in vain. In discharging this responsibility, it is not essential that the government should, everywhere, make direct provision itself or should follow the methods which have been adopted in the very different conditions of more highly developed and industrialized countries. In some parts of a less-developed country, direct governmental provision may not only be impracticable but unnecessary because the solution may lie in the strength of mutual aid within the local community. In those circumstances, the primary function of the government should be to do whatever is in its power to increase the health and prosperity of such a community as a whole, while at the same time fostering the spirit of mutual aid in every possible way. Elsewhere, the solution may lie in more direct action by the government, for instance, by means of subsidies to non-governmental agencies which are willing to undertake the task of meeting the special needs of those who would otherwise be left completely unprovided for. Finally, there will in most countries be some districts, particularly the larger towns, where the only proper course is for either the central or local government itself to carry out the task of ensuring that those in need through causes beyond their control are directly assisted in the most appropriate way at the expense of national or local funds as part of the governmental social welfare administration.

300. Above all, it is essential that governments should recognize that, while changing conditions resulting from social and economic

developments may well give rise to a greater demand for direct governmental provision of assistance, such developments not only serve to reduce the number of people who are in real need but, by increasing the national income, also enable the financial resources to be made available to meet the demand for assistance.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Estimated proportion of illiterates, and children attending school

Country	Adult population Estimated percentage of illiterates		Child population 5-14 years attending school		Other information
	Males	Females	Total	Per cent	
Bolivia	*	*	80.85	23	Primary education legally compulsory since 1904; free since 1930.
Burma	25.30	70.75	50.55	14 ³	Monastery schools have played an important part in the education of children in rural districts. Educational programme retarded by Second World War and post-war disturbances.
Ceylon	30	56	40.42	63	System of free education from kindergarten to university introduced in 1945.
Chile	25	30	27	51	Primary education legally compulsory; free in all State schools and some primary schools.
Ecuador	38	50	44	40	Children of Indian communities begin to work on family holding as young as 7 years of age.

Egypt	65	90	78-80	27	1,382	Considerable progress in improving educational facilities has been made in recent years.
Iran	*	*	85-90	16	729	The illiteracy rate among the adult population is believed to be extremely low. The country monograph states that in 1953 there were 5 per cent truant children "not attending school at all or absent from school for a long time in order to help earn the family livelihood or from causes ascribable to poverty".
Japan	*	*	*	90	16,500	
Libya	*	*	over 90	13-16	39	Available data inadequate, but proportion of girls aged 5-14 attending school may be as low as 5 per cent.

* Data not available.

* These figures pertain to a period prior to the return of settled and normal conditions in the country.

Note: It must be stressed that most of the figures quoted are estimates and that many of them relate to the position obtaining in 1951 or even earlier.

APPENDIX II

Notes on social insurance schemes^a

BOLIVIA

(1) *Contingencies covered:*

Employment injury, sickness and maternity

(2) *Scope:*

(a) *Employment injury*

Employees in industry are covered either under the Labour Code or under the social insurance scheme.

(b) *Sickness and maternity*

Employees in industry in areas where the scheme has been put into effect.

(3) *Contributions:*

(a) *Employment injury*

Whole cost borne by employer; premiums graduated according to risk (Labour Code and social insurance scheme).

(b) *Sickness and maternity*

Insured person, 2.5 per cent of earnings; employer, 5.5 per cent of wages and salaries paid; Government, proceeds of earmarked taxes on tin and other materials.

(4) *Benefits:*

(a) *Employment injury*

(i) *Under Labour Code:*

100 per cent of earnings for maximum of 18 months; grant equal to two years' earnings for permanent total incapacity.

(ii) *Under social insurance*

Medical care, plus 60 per cent of earnings; widow, orphan, half-orphan, 36, 25 and 18 per cent respectively of pension for total incapacity.

(b) *Sickness*

Medical care for insured person and dependants; insured person, 60 per cent of basic earnings for 12 weeks.

(c) *Maternity*

Medical care for insured person and dependants; insured woman, 60 per cent of earnings for 12 weeks.

^a These notes have been compiled from the country monographs and from information supplied by the International Labour Office.

(5) *Other information:*

There are separate insurance funds for certain categories of insured, e.g., public employees and railway workers. There is a system of family and nursing allowances and a general compulsory savings scheme for manual workers in private enterprises.

BURMA

(1) *Contingencies covered:*

Employment injury (Workmen's Compensation Act).

(2) *Scope:*

Employees, including employees of rubber, tea, coffee and cinchona estates having 25 or more employees, but not other agricultural employees; non-manual employees earning over 400 kyats a month are excluded. (Estimated number covered in 1949, less than 80,000).

(3) *Contributions:*

Liability insurance by employer not compulsory.

(4) *Benefits:*

Temporary incapacity, 66.66 per cent of average wages; permanent total incapacity and death, 36 times 140 per cent of average monthly wages, subject to specified minimum and maximum; permanent partial incapacity, lump sum according to accident or degree of incapacity.

(5) *Other information:*

Government clerical workers (estimated at 1 per cent of labour force) are entitled to maternity benefits and old age pensions. A number of the larger undertakings have introduced provident funds for certain of their permanent employees, on the basis of equal contributions by employers and employees.

CEYLON

(1) *Contingencies covered:*

Employment injury and occupational diseases (Workmen's Compensation Ordinance, 1934).

(2) *Scope:*

Workmen in categories specified in Schedule to Ordinance.

(3) *Contributions:*

Employers' liability insurance not compulsory.

(4) *Benefits:*

Flat rates according to wage classes.

(5) *Other information:*

Under term of Service Contracts Ordinance, a proprietor of a tea or rubber estate is required to supply lodging, food and medical care to any employee who is incapacitated by sickness.

CHILE

(1) *Contingencies covered:*

Employment injury, maternity, sickness, old age, invalidity, death of breadwinner.

(2) *Scope:*

All employees, trainees and apprentices (irrespective of industry or occupation) and all independent workers.

(3) *Contributions:*(a) *Employment injury*

Whole cost borne by employer.

(b) *Other contingencies*

Workers, 5 per cent of wages; employers, 10 per cent of wages; Government, 5.5 per cent of wages or 5 per cent of income of independent workers (from 1 Jan. 1955).

(4) *Benefits:*(a) *Employment injury*

Medical care. Temporary incapacity, 75 per cent of daily wage; permanent total incapacity, 60 per cent of annual wage; permanent partial incapacity, grant varying with degree of incapacity and wages; death of breadwinner, widow receives 30 per cent of annual wage; allowances for children.

(b) *Sickness and maternity*

Hospital and medical care for insured person, wife and children. Cash benefit equal to 100 per cent of average daily wages, less social insurance contribution of 15 per cent.

(c) *Old age and invalidity*

Basic sum equal to 50 per cent of wages, plus increments proportionate to wages in respect of insurance contributions in excess of a prescribed number, less social insurance contribution of 5 per cent; supplement for dependants.

(d) *Death of breadwinner*

Pension based on old-age or invalidity pension to which deceased was, or would have been, entitled; rate for widow, 50 per cent, less social insurance contribution of 5 per cent.

(5) *Other information:*

Under a decree of July 1953, the social insurance scheme has been extended to cover family allowances for all insured persons except independent workers.

ECUADOR

(1) *Contingencies covered:*

Employment injury, maternity, sickness, invalidity, old age and death of breadwinner.

(2) Scope:

Employees in manual and non-manual occupations.

(3) Contributions:**(a) Employment injury**

Whole cost borne by employer.

(b) Sickness, maternity, invalidity, old age and death

Manual workers and private salaried employees, 5 per cent of wages; public employees and bank employees, 7 per cent of salary. Employer, 7 per cent of wages of insured person (earnings reckoned subject to ceiling).

(4) Benefits:**(a) Employment injury**

Medical care. Temporary incapacity, 50 per cent of earnings; permanent total incapacity, 40 per cent of earnings or lump sum equal to earnings for 3 years; death lump sum varying with period elapsing between accident and death, maximum equal to earnings for 3 years. Annual earnings reckoned subject to ceiling.

(b) Maternity

Medical care and cash benefit of 75 per cent of earnings for 7 weeks.

(c) Sickness

Medical care and cash benefit of 50 per cent of average basic earnings for first 4 weeks and 40 per cent for subsequent 21 weeks.

(d) Old age and invalidity

Manual workers and private salaried employees, 30 per cent of average earnings, plus increments in respect of contributions in excess of prescribed number; public employees and bank employees, 40 per cent of average earnings, plus increments in respect of contributions in excess of prescribed number (special scheme).

(e) Death of breadwinner

Manual and non-manual employees, percentage of invalidity pension according to number of dependants.

(5) Other information:

Employment injury benefits shown under (4) above apply under the Labour Code. Under social insurance scheme, to be introduced, rates of cash benefit will be as follows: Temporary incapacity, 70 per cent of wages, according to wage categories; permanent incapacity, 60 per cent of wages, according to wage categories; death, widow to receive 40 per cent of total incapacity pension, and half-orphan, 20 per cent.

EGYPT**(1) Contingencies covered:**

Employment injury.

(2) Scope:

Employees in industrial and commercial establishments and in agricultural undertakings if employed solely to tend power-driven machines.

(3) *Contributions:*

Whole cost borne by employer.

(4) *Benefits:*

Medical care. Temporary incapacity, allowance of wages 100 per cent for first 90 days, thereafter 50 per cent; permanent total incapacity, grant equal to 1,200 days' wages. Death, grant equal to 1,000 days' wages with specified minima, and for permanent total incapacity and death, specified maxima.

IRAN

(1) *Contingencies covered:*

Employment injury, sickness, marriage, maternity, unemployment, invalidity, retirement and loss of breadwinner.

(2) *Scope:*(a) *Compulsory insurance*

Workers in industry, mining,^b commerce, construction, transport and other occupations covered by Labour Act, including technical and administrative staff earning not more than 6,000 rials a month.

(b) *Voluntary insurance*

Other workers.

(3) *Contributions:*

Employee, 4 per cent of wages or salary; employer, 8 per cent of wages or salary paid.

(4) *Benefits:*(a) *Employment injury*

Medical care, normal earnings for maximum of one year; permanent invalidity, 50 per cent of earnings plus supplement for dependants.

(b) *Sickness and maternity*

Medical care, normal earnings for maximum of 6 months (6 weeks in case of maternity).

(c) *Marriage*

30 times daily wage subject to specified maximum.

(d) *Unemployment*

35 per cent of minimum wage (50 per cent if there are dependants).

(e) *Invalidity*

40 per cent of minimum wage of unskilled worker, supplements for dependants.

^b It may be noted that a separate industrial health service, financed partly by social insurance payments and partly by employers' subsidies, is in operation in the oil fields of Khuzistan province (which includes the Abadan and Khorramshahr areas).

(f) *Retirement*

Pension of 20 per cent of average earnings during last 5 years; higher pension if insured for more than 10 years.

(g) *Loss of breadwinner due to employment injury or other cause*

(i) Widow, 25 per cent of wages.

(ii) Children:

1 child, 25 per cent of wages;

2 children, 35 per cent of wages;

3 children, 45 per cent of wages;

4 or more children, 50 per cent of wages.

(5) *Other information:**Family allowances*

3rd child under 15, 7 per cent of minimum wages;

4th child under 15, 5 per cent of minimum wages;

each subsequent child under 15, 4 per cent of minimum wages.

JAPAN

(1) *Contingencies covered:*

Sickness, injury, maternity, unemployment, invalidity, old age and death of breadwinner.

(2) *Scope:*(a) *Employment injury*

Employed persons in undertakings with 5 or more workers or employing one worker in a hazardous occupation.

(b) *Sickness and maternity*

(i) Sickness insurance: Employed persons in undertakings employing 5 or more persons.

(ii) National health insurance: Persons not covered by sickness, insurance or special schemes, including self-employed persons and persons employed in small establishments.

(c) *Unemployment*

Employed persons in undertakings with 5 or more workers engaged in industry, commerce, etc.

(d) *Invalidity, old age and death*

The Welfare Pensions Insurance Law covers all persons who work in an industrial establishment or Government office in which 5 or more persons are regularly employed.

(3) *Contributions:*(a) *Employment injury*

Employer bears whole cost; contributions scaled according to degree

(b) *Sickness and maternity*

- (i) Sickness insurance: 6 per cent of taxable earnings, subject to ceiling, shared equally by insured person and employer; State subsidy.
- (ii) National health insurance: Contributions by insured persons (head of household) at rates fixed by local organizations; State subsidies may be granted.

(c) *Unemployment*

Insured person, 1 per cent of earnings; employer 1 per cent of wages paid; State subsidy.

(d) *Invalidity, old age and death*

Employers and workers each pay one half of contribution equal to 3 per cent of standard remuneration (according to wage categories).

(4) *Benefits:*

(a) *Employment injury*

Medical care.

- (i) Temporary incapacity, 60 per cent of average earnings;
- (ii) Permanent incapacity, lump sum (maximum 1,340 times daily earnings) or pension (maximum 240 times daily earnings);
- (iii) Death, lump sum equal to 1,000 times daily earnings or pension equal to 180 times daily earnings.

(b) *Sickness and maternity*

- (i) Sickness insurance: Part cost of medical care for insured persons and dependants; cash benefit equal to 60 per cent of daily earnings for six months (12 weeks in case of maternity).
- (ii) National health insurance: Medical care; scope and extent of benefits determined by local organization.

(c) *Old age*

Basic amount, plus 0.5 per cent of standard remuneration per year of service, plus supplements for dependants.

(d) *Invalidity*

Pension based on old-age pensions, varying with degree of incapacity, plus supplements for dependants in cases of severe disability.

(e) *Death*

50 per cent of old-age pension, plus supplements for dependants.

LIBYA

(1) *Contingencies covered:*

Tripolitania

Employment injury, sickness, unemployment, old age, invalidity (including tuberculosis).

Cyrenaica

Employment injury (Workmen's Compensation Law of 1951).

(2) *Scope:*

(a) *Employment injury*

Manual workers (irrespective of nationality) not engaged in agriculture.

(b) *Other contingencies*

Italian manual workers (including agricultural workers) in Tripolitania.

(3) *Contributions:*

(a) *Employment injury*

Employer bears whole cost; contributions scaled according to degree of risk (Tripolitania).

(b) *Sickness*

4.5 per cent of gross wages, shared equally between employer and worker.

(c) *Old age, invalidity, tuberculosis and unemployment*

Consolidated flat rate contributions half each by employer and worker.

(4) *Benefits:*

(a) *Employment injury*

Medical benefits and temporary disability allowance of 50 per cent of normal wages.

(b) *Unemployment*

Flat rate benefits according to number of dependants for maximum of 126 days in year.

(c) *Sickness*

Medical care. Cash benefit of 50 per cent of nominal wages for maximum of 180 days.

(d) *Old age, invalidity (including tuberculosis)*

Basic pension, plus increments for additional contributions and dependants. Special benefits in tuberculosis cases.

APPENDIX III

Notes on institutional accommodation ^a

BOLIVIA

(1) *Children*

- (a) 10 State homes providing accommodation for about 900 orphans and neglected children. Another 1,000 such children are accommodated in institutions maintained by members of religious orders.
- (b) 4 reformatories for juvenile delinquents—2 for boys administered by the State and 2 for girls maintained by nuns.

(2) *Physically and mentally handicapped*

- (a) An institution for the insane and feeble-minded (adults and children).
- (b) 3 institutions for the care and education of blind boys and girls.
- (c) 2 institutions for the rehabilitation and training of adult blind with special workshops attached.

(3) *Aged*

25 homes for aged men and women are maintained by religious organizations.

BURMA

(1) *Children*

Some 20 foundling and similar homes, largely provided and maintained by voluntary organizations.

(2) *Physically and mentally handicapped*

- (a) 2 schools for the blind.
- (b) One school for the deaf and dumb.
- (c) Mental hospital and home for incurables.

(3) *Aged*

One home for aged women and 2 homes for aged men and women.

CEYLON

(1) *Children*

- (a) Over 60 organizations, accommodating nearly 5,000 orphans, are maintained by religious and other voluntary agencies.

^a The information in these notes has been obtained mainly from country monographs. It is not necessarily complete in every instance. Hospitals (except for mental institutions) are not included.

- (b) Over 40 homes for the care and protection of young children and maintained by religious and other voluntary agencies.
- (2) *Physically and mentally handicapped*
 - (a) 2 religious institutions maintain schools for the deaf and blind. State bears financial responsibility for workshops providing "sheltered" employment.
 - (b) Orthopaedic clinic (including a workshop) in Colombo, financed by Government.
- (3) *Aged*
 - (a) Small number of homes for the aged maintained by voluntary organizations, mainly in urban areas.
 - (b) 2 State homes for the aged have recently been opened and others are at the planning stage.
 - (c) The Colombo Municipality maintains a City Refuge for the Homeless Aged.
- (4) *Beggars, vagrants and homeless*
 - (a) House of Detention managed by the Department of Social Services.
 - (b) Home for vagrants managed by Salvation Army Department of Social Services.

CHILE

- (1) *Children*
 - (a) A National Children's Home for orphans and abandoned children under the administration of the National Health Service.
 - (b) A central "observation" or reception centre with a child guidance clinic.*
 - (c) The Ciudad del Niño (children's town), providing cottage homes for orphans and deserted children.*
 - (d) A foster family service for about 500 children.*
 - (e) Some 50 homes for orphans or destitute children and 100 establishments "for the protection of minors" maintained by private (mainly religious) organizations.
- (2) *Physically and mentally handicapped*
 - (a) National Psychiatric Hospital.
 - (b) 2 schools for the blind maintained by private organizations.
- (3) *Aged*
 - (a) A number of homes for old people, including those suffering from senility are maintained under the National Health Service.
 - (b) 25 homes for old people are provided by voluntary organizations.

* Administered by the National Council for the Protection of Children.

(4) *Beggars, vagrants and homeless*

- (a) The Salvation Army provides hostels for homeless men and women.
- (b) A hostel for homeless vagrant and mendicant boys and youths is maintained by the Hogar de Cristo.
- (c) 15 homes for the destitute are maintained by voluntary organizations

ECUADOR

(1) *Children*

- (a) 2 boarding institutions for children "who have to leave their own home owing to family difficulties", maintained by the Directorate-General of Child Welfare Homes.
- (b) A small home for indigenous children, managed by nuns.
- (c) 5 labour and rehabilitation centres for juvenile delinquents (total accommodation: 480) maintained by Directorate-General of Social Welfare Homes.
- (d) St. Vincent de Paul Home for 300-350 orphans and deserted children.

(2) *Physically and mentally handicapped*

Infirmary and insane asylum maintained by Quito public assistance authority.

(3) *Aged*

Home for about 100 aged men and women in Quito, maintained by the Committee of Ladies of the Red Cross.

(4) *Beggars, vagrants and homeless*

Shelter for indigent men and women, maintained by the Municipality of Quito, providing overnight accommodation only for about 50 people.

EGYPT^b(1) *Children*

- (a) 6 Homes for Minors maintained by the Government and providing accommodation for 700 boys and girls.
- (b) Over 80 institutions providing separate accommodation for over 6,000 boys and girls, maintained by municipalities and private organizations
- (c) 4 reformatories maintained by the Prison Department.

(2) *Physically and mentally handicapped*

- (a) 2 institutions for the deaf and dumb.
- (b) An institution for the blind (including a factory employing blind adults. The above are maintained by the Ministry of Education).
- (c) A small number of institutions for the blind provided by the Egyptian Association for the Welfare of the Blind and other voluntary organizations.

^b Most of the information on Egypt has been extracted from the Egyptian Government publication *Social Welfare in Egypt*, published in 1950.

(3) *Aged*

- (a) 2 homes for old men (total 400) and one home for old women (200) maintained by the Government.
- (b) 25 institutions for "old people and beggars", maintained by municipalities and private organizations.
- (c) 25 "mixed institutions for old and young", all but 2 of which are maintained by private organizations.

(4) *Beggars, vagrants and homeless*

Government institution in Cairo for 1,000 beggars.

IRAN

(1) *Children*

- (a) The Tehran Municipality maintains an orphanage and residential nursery for children under 7.
- (b) 10 orphanages are maintained by the Red Lion and Sun Society.
- (c) The large Shahpur Orphanage is maintained by income from a legacy and provides separate modern buildings for boys and girls.
- (d) The "Workers Club", maintained by the Imperial Charity Foundation, provides accommodation for 1,500 children.

(2) *Physically and mentally handicapped*

The Imperial Charity Foundation maintains a residential "club" for 500 disabled and incapacitated persons.

(3)

(4) *Beggars, vagrants and homeless*

The Aminabad Centre for the care of the Needy in Tehran provides accommodation for some 2,000 adults and 400 children; child beggars over the age of 7 are accommodated separately.

JAPAN

(1) *Children*

- (a) Large numbers of public and private homes, including special homes for feeble-minded, crippled, blind, deaf and dumb children, as well as for juvenile delinquents, providing accommodation for some thousands of children.
- (b) A system of foster homes, numbering nearly 10,000.

(2) *Physically and mentally handicapped*

- (a) Some 20 public and private "relief institutions" for men and women "not able to adjust themselves to independent living, due to serious physical or mental handicaps".
- (b) Some 100 public and private "rehabilitation institutions", accommodating persons who need care and guidance for physical and mental reasons.

(3) *Aged*

Over 300 public and private institutions for the aged for men and women "who are not able to maintain themselves independently due to old age".

(4) *Beggars, vagrants and homeless*

Over 140 public and private institutions to provide shelter for homeless families.

LIBYA

(1) *Children*

(a) A small number of orphaned and abandoned children are accommodated in the 3 mixed poor houses in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica.

(b) A small orphanage for Arab children in Benghazi.

(c) 3 re-educational centres in Tripolitania for juvenile delinquents.

(d) Several Roman Catholic orphanages, mainly for Italian children.

(2) *Physically and mentally handicapped*

(a) 2 small mental institutions.

(b) A few crippled and blind men and women are accommodated in the 3 mixed poor houses.

(3) *Aged*

(a) A few old people are maintained in the 3 poor houses.

(b) A Roman Catholic organization maintains a small home in Tripoli for the Italian community.

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